New Republic

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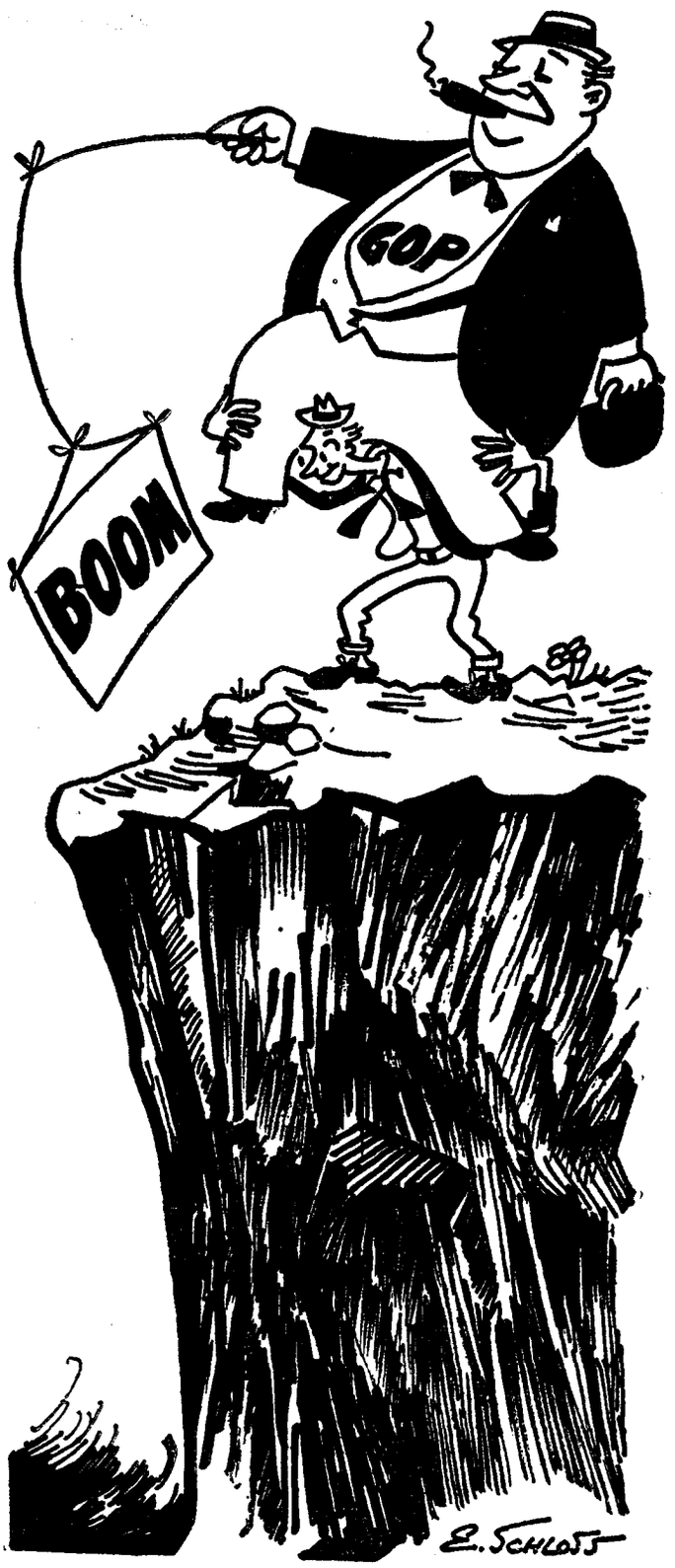

We Were Licked!

Election Roundup

Controls Are Finished

Monopolies Get Bigger
by Carroll Kilpatrick

The British Colonies
by Rita Hinden

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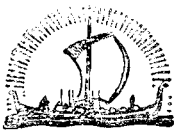

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 20 NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1946 NUMBER 1668

Election Roundup

After the Debacle

THERE WILL be only 187 Democrats in the House in the Eightieth Congress as compared to 241 in the Seventy-ninth. There will be only 45 Democrats in the Senate as compared with 56 Republicans. Even considering the predisposition of the Southern Democrats to vote Republican, as proved by the records of the Seventy-ninth and preceding Congresses, it seems likely that President Truman will usually have enough supporters in the House to sustain his vetoes. In the Senate, the Administration will have much more trouble. Of the 45 Democrats who will be in the Senate next year, 11 voted against their party more than half the time during the Seventy-ninth Congress. In the House, studies show that 36 Democrats in the last Congress habitually voted against the majority of their party; 24 of these will be in the new Congress.

The general explanation of the election as a great outpouring of voters who turned their backs to the New Deal is incorrect. The simple arithmetic of the election is that, according to normal expectation in a non-presidential year, American voters should have cast a total vote of 43 million. Only 35 million voted. On the basis of the 1944 Democratic-Republican balance, these 43 million votes should have been divided into about 22.5 million Democratic and 20.5 Republican. From the incomplete count so far, the actual division was about 15 million Democratic and 20 million Republican. Thus the Republicans managed to get out roughly a normal vote, while the Democrats fell behind by about eight million. It is difficult to say how many congressional seats the Democrats might have saved had they been able to marshal even normal off-year voting interest. There was much discontent with ineptness in high places, lack of exciting leadership, and prices which were outrunning wages. Nevertheless, there seems to have been no landslide into Republican ranks.

November 5 witnessed the third and final phase of the down trend in the New Deal political tide. Both the Democrats and the independent-political-action movements failed to put into effect the lessons so clearly shown by the 1938 and 1942 experiences. The first real setback to the Democrats came in 1938, when the Republicans turned out in the same numbers as they had in the preceding presidential election, while the Democratic vote fell off by nearly seven million. This difference in voting interest in an off-year, coupled with a sharp increase in unemployment, cost the Democrats about 70 congressional seats.

The second setback came in 1942 when voters of both parties stayed away from the polls by the millions. Apathetic Democratic voters outnumbered the stay-at-home Republicans, and the Republicans cast more votes than did the Democrats in 1942. The price that Democrats in that year paid for their wartime voting apathy was nearly 50 seats.

The third and worst setback came in 1946 and cost the Democrats control of both Houses. It was exactly a repetition of the 1938 experience. Republicans again this year, as in that other off-year election, managed to keep their ranks intact, while the Democratic campaign failed to fire the interest and sense of civic obligation on the part of eight million stay-away Democrats.

The record of inept Democratic management of the 1946 campaign was familiar to many of the local workers who tried to stem a trend without adequate support from the high command. As an illustration in miniature, Representative Green in the Philadelphia area lost out basically because less than 130,000 votes were cast, compared with a normal vote of about 150,000. Heretofore, that district had voted 55 to 61-percent Democratic in presidential years, but less than 50 percent in the off-years 1938 and 1942 and only 43 percent in 1946. The Republicans put on a vigorous campaign against Green and as a result actually increased their vote to 74,000. The Democratic vote shrank by 21,000 and a liberal congressman whose services in the next Congress are badly needed, was lost.

Northeast

New York City

IT WAS a lazy campaign. There was a noticeable "Let-George-do-it" attitude among many of the liberal leaders who rose to eminence in New Deal days. There was no end to the talk about how difficult it was going to be to beat Dewey and practically no talk at all about how to beat Dewey. The lack of self-discipline among the Democrats, American Laborites and Liberal Party members was the subject of continual comment by the Republicans. While it was true that the Democratic - ALP - Liberal standard-bearers lacked glamor, their records entitled them to more vigorous support than they received.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1946, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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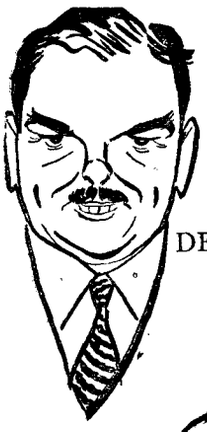
Taking his lesson from Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor Thomas E. Dewey throughout set the pace in the New York State campaign. It was a leisurely pace, and Senator James M. Mead, running with tri-party support, was never able to increase its tempo.

Dewey concluded, after examining several private public-opinion polls, that the conduct of the Truman Administration was the only important campaign issue. He never once disclosed his own views on basic national issues. Campaigning from a lofty height, his attitude was that the Democrats were creating a disturbance in the street below which his lieutenants could more than adequately handle. He never mentioned Mead and only answered his opponents when they called his state surplus a "political slush-fund."

Former Governor Herbert H. Lehman, running for the Senate, piled up a vote plurality of nearly 500,000 in New York City, but this was 250,000 less than he needed to overcome the upstate lead of his Republican opponent, Irving M. Ives. Until two weeks before the elections, Lehman still was not waging an aggresssive campaign.

The ALP and the PAC devoted so much of their energies to the reëlection of Representatives Vito Marcantonio and Adam Clayton Powell that the rest of the ticket benefited little from their efforts.



DEWEY, Thomas E.
(R) New York

PEW, Joseph N.
(R) Pennsylvania

It was the regular registered Democrats who took a powder on Mead and Lehman. With Roosevelt no longer there to hold them in line, they succumbed to the bandwagon psychology engendered by the highly optimistic New York *Daily News* poll and the general anti-Communist barrage from the newspapers.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pennsylvania saw the Democratic Party raise no issues on a statewide level. Senator Joseph Guffey's campaign for reëlection amounted to little in comparison with the highly professional and skilled operation Governor Ed Martin and the Republicans conducted against him. In Pittsburgh, the Republicans reaped a great harvest from the confusion caused by the Duquesne power strike and the coincidental hotel strike there. The beer war which followed shortly was the last straw with middle-class voters.

Guffey lost Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) by 40,000 to 50,000 votes, whereas he would normally be expected to carry it by the same margin in a regular off-year. Roosevelt carried Allegheny by 67,000 in 1944.

There is no way to estimate the advantage the Republicans gained because David Lawrence, Democratic National Committeeman and Mayor of Pittsburgh, was immobilized for practically the whole of the campaign by the strike emergency.

Money was no object to the Republicans. The number of workers and the funds available ward by ward topped anything since the New Deal.

There can be no chance of a Democratic comeback in Pennsylvania until there is a complete party reorganization, based on an alliance with labor. The present AFL-CIO split can prevent the kind of reorganization required.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Without the CIO-PAC, the progressive defeats in Philadelphia would have been far more drastic. Regular Democratic Party machinery practically collapsed. The Joe Pew-financed Republican operation was Sinatra-smooth. Democratic estimates are that one and a half to two million of the five million dollars Republicans are estimated to have spent in the campaign went into the Philadelphia area. Three hundred and fifty thousand dollars is the top estimate of Democratic expenditures here.

Former Representative Michael Bradley now officially heads the Philadelphia Democratic organization. Former Representative Bill Green, who put up by far the ablest fight in this election, is most likely to be accepted as the liberal leader of the city. The feelings which ran so high here this year may well result in a Republican upset in the mayoralty race next year.

Newark, N. J.

Despite the Republican landslide in New Jersey, the election provided some good data on the effectiveness of independent political action. The record-breaking Republican majority for Governor can be blamed on lack of Democratic organization, particularly in the rural counties.

The strength of the CIO-PAC was vividly demonstrated in four of the five congressional districts where it waged intensive campaigns. In all four of these districts the CIO candidates ran about 10,000 votes ahead of their party. Two of these candidates were Republican; two Democratic.

The two Republicans—Wolverton and Canfield—each got about 10,000 more votes than the Republican senatorial and gubernatorial candidates in their districts. Canfield did this despite evidence that the Republican leaders in Passaic County were trying to ease him out because his voting record on such things as price control was unsatisfactory to the vested interests.

In the 10th District, Representative Hartley, the Republican incumbent, was held to a plurality of 6,000, far less than the victory margins in nearby districts. In off-year elections in the past he has won by more than these neighboring candidates.

In the 10th District, the CIO-PAC candidate, Howell, lost by only 4,500 votes in a district which customarily goes Republican by pluralities of 20,000 to 25,000.

Throughout the state the Republicans played up the high cost of living, the veterans' housing shortage and the Red scare. The CIO-PAC has demanded action by the Post Office and the United States Attorney on the circulation through the mails of counter-

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feit CIO-PAC literature designed to stir up fear of communism.

Boston, Mass.

Interest in special referenda on the Massachusetts ballot exceeded interest in many of the candidates up for election and was a factor in the Democratic defeat. The AFL spent its money and time fighting the Barnes bill, which would force unions to file itemized accounts of their expenditures. Women's organizations put their main efforts behind pushing jury service for women. Old-age committees were interested in a pension proposal. These crusades overshadowed issues brought out by campaigning congressmen.

The landslide which put Lieutenant Governor Robert Bradford into the governorship can largely be attributed to a personal grudge between Democratic candidate Tobin and Mayor Curley of Boston, the city Democratic boss. Curley's machine worked for Bradford, or not at all. Democratic precinct workers were not out ringing doorbells for their ticket.

The CIO-PAC was not on the job in Massachusetts except in Fall River, where, despite its efforts, Martha Sharp took a licking; Representative Joseph Martin, who had broad support from the Catholic Church, carried the city by 30,000 votes. The CIO was conspicuously missing in other congressional fights. In industrial areas Bradford won over Tobin and Henry Cabot Lodge over Walsh in the senatorial race.

In only one place—Worcester, where Democrat Harold Donohue upset Republican Representative Pehr Holmes—did the Democratic Party, CIO and Citizens' PAC really work together. A fairly liberal candidate, Donohue campaigned against Holmes's reactionary record. Young John Kennedy, who replaces Curley in Congress, is given a good chance to take the leadership of the Democratic Party in Massachusetts away from veteran John McCormack.

Norwalk, Conn.

The election of a totally Republican congressional delegation from Connecticut is testimony to the efficiency of the Republican state machine, the bunglings of the Truman Administration and the superb performance of the state's press and radio in following the big-business line.

MARTIN, Joseph W.
(R) Massachusetts

MARTIN, Edward
(R) Pennsylvania

The Republican margin of victory was about 100,000 out of the 690,000 votes cast in the election. Actually, GOP strength remained the same, while the Democratic vote dropped about 154,000 from 1944.

The Democratic campaign was fumbling and inept, devoid of sure professional guidance. As a result, the independent vote, which formerly swarmed into big-city balloting places to support Roosevelt, simply did not turn out. Conspicuous in the Connecticut picture was the failure of the CIO-PAC to function in the manner expected. Moribund until late in the campaign, it was far outdone by the Independent Citizens' Committee and the Connecticut Citizens' PAC, headed by tireless and efficient John R. Tunis.

Republican strategy was to keep quiet and take advantage of discontent with Truman's failures, while working strenuously to perfect its organization. Large amounts of money went into swinging right-wing labor leaders to the GOP side. There is some talk that the Independent Voters' Party, which supported its own candidate for Congress in Fairfield County, may become the nucleus for a statewide third-party movement.

But the great majority of independent voters—especially the women—went to the polls with an attitude like that of a middle-aged matron of Waterbury, who said to a reporter: "I won't tell you how I'm going to vote, but standing in *this* line is going to mean something."

Wilmington, Del.

Senator James M. Tunnell (D), who campaigned on an uncompromising New Deal program, lost to John Williams (R), who carried on the usual GOP line of communism and confusion. Tunnell was defeated by 5.2 percent of the vote—or 5,790 votes out of the 115,000 cast in Delaware, larger than for most off-year elections, but not overwhelming as compared with almost 100,000 votes cast in 1934. Had it not been for the work of organized labor, particularly the CIO-PAC, Tunnell would have lost by a much greater majority. He carried the industrial districts of Wilmington, but lost the total city by about 2,500. Rural areas largely voted Republican.

Some of the reasons for Tunnell's defeat were a lack of campaign material to appeal to the women, who showed their anger over shortages and price rises by shifting almost as a bloc to the GOP, and apathetic Democratic rallies, with seats filled by party stalwarts. The greatest weakness of the PAC campaign was that, although well organized at the top, it had no vigorous following among the rank and file, evident from the small number of one-dollar contributions and the seeming impossibility of getting down to any real shop organization. The Negroes swung away from the Democrats as "a revolt against the President and Mrs. Truman." Many voters showed the usual interest in which side would pay the most. Votes were no longer just $1 and $2—inflation pushed the price this year as high as $7 and $8. Even some of the union people, in positions of responsibility, would not deliver districts until their share was in their billfolds.

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HALLECK, Charles A.
(R) Indiana

VANDENBERG, Arthur A.
(R) Michigan

Middle West

Chicago, Ill.

THE REPUBLICANS, the Chicago *Tribune* and isolationism carried the day in Illinois. Even the Kelly machine cracked under the push of GOP votes in Cook County.

Specifically, the Republicans captured 20 seats in the House of Representatives—about the same number they held in the so-called golden twenties. This meant the defeat of five incumbent Democrats, including Emily Taft Douglas, who ran at large, and Alexander Resa and William A. Rowan of Chicago. All three had worked long and hard for liberal legislation. The Democrats and the PAC were able to salvage only six congressional seats, five of them in Chicago and one downstate.

One of the few bright spots in the Illinois results was the victory of Melvin Price, of East St. Louis, the one surviving downstate Democrat. He made an outstandingly able record during his first term.

A negative, but significant, point was the strong showing of Mrs. Douglas, even in defeat. She ran considerably ahead of the ticket.

In Chicago, the Republicans dented the Kelly machine by capturing about half the county offices at stake. Although these inroads were serious, the Kelly organization drew considerable comfort from the fact that it carried the city for most offices. It was the county votes which swamped the Kelly men.

Since next spring's election of a mayor will be strictly a city affair, the machine still thinks it has a fighting chance. An incidental result of the election was that it cast up the Republican candidate for mayor. He will be Russell W. Root, the Cook County Republican chairman, who carries Colonel Robert R. McCormick's personal blessing.

Columbus, Ohio

Had 75 percent of Ohio's electorate voted, the Democrats would have had a better-than-reasonable chance of victory. The CIO-PAC and other independent groups rolled up a heavy total of progressive registrations this year, but only about 53 percent of eligible voters cast their ballots. In 1942, 41 percent voted; in 1944, 72 percent. Election results show that the percentage decrease in votes cast in 1946 as compared to 1944 is approximately the same for heavily industrialized Mahoning County as for semi-rural Marion County.

However, it is evident that the suburban and normally Republican wards turned out a heavier vote, while the usually Democratic wards turned out the regular contingent. With the Republican voters much more exercised over the issues in this campaign than their opponents, there was unusually heavy straight-ticket voting. In Columbus, a conservative Republican stronghold, workers at the polls noted the speed with which ballots were marked, indicating a remarkably large amount of straight voting.

Ohio's problem was particularly aggravated by the fact that the Democratic Party is bereft of real and vital leadership—there is no semblance of a strong Democratic organization anywhere in the state. In contrast, the Republican machine, with large funds and newspaper and radio support, had no trouble making even its wildest charges of "pink" and "communism" against the Democrats.

St. Louis, Mo.

President Truman's political weakness was most dramatically demonstrated in his own home state where for the first time since Civil War reconstruction days the voters have elected two Republican Senators, including a comparative unknown, to the seat formerly held by the President.

Even more of a blow to the President's political prestige was the defeat of Enos Axtell, Truman's personal choice for Representative from Kansas City. Here the charge of Pendergastism cost the Democrats the decisive independent vote.

Despite a big turnout, which the Democrats had been hoping for, the Republicans picked up three congressional seats to give them the biggest GOP delegation in 26 years. But the popular vote was far from a landslide. Four of the Republican congressmen won by such narrow margins that a switch of 7,181 votes out of 1,106,863 in the four districts would have turned them all Democratic.

The real issues in the election had no part in the outcome. The Democrats had no program. Republicans made the machine and "confusion, communism and corruption" the issues. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* commented that "Whoever supposes that yesterday's election was a wholesale denunciation of the Roosevelt regime will find himself badly mistaken."

Madison, Wis.

Wisconsin is back where it started half a century ago. It is not without its ironical aspects that it was helped back there by a son of the late Bob La Follette. In the last hours of the campaign, former Governor Philip La Follette urged support of the entire Republican slate, which included some of the most reactionary members of Congress.

More than 900,000 votes were cast for Governor and US Senator out of a registration which went well over a million. Biggest single factor in

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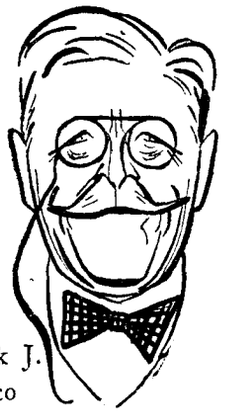
bringing out this sizable vote was a referendum to amend the state constitution to provide for public transportation of parochial and private-school students. Developing into a heated religious controversy between Catholics and Protestants, the proposal was turned down by more than 100,000 votes. Walter S. Goodland, 83-year-old Governor, was reëlected over former Milwaukee Mayor Daniel Hoan by more than 200,000 votes. Joseph R. McCarthy won over former Representative Howard McMurray by the same margin. McCarthy, who was catapulted to fame by his surprise defeat in the primary of Senator Robert La Follette Jr., carried every county in the state except Dane. There the Madison *Capital Times* had hammered away at his violation of the state constitution prohibition against judges running for a political office, and exposed the fact that McCarthy was handing out quick and quiet divorces to political supporters and to the clients of attorneys who supported his campaign. This was totally suppressed in other papers.

Republican tactics in the campaign were the same here as throughout the nation—calling Democratic candidates "Communists" and "fellow travelers," and offering little or nothing in the way of a program that anyone could argue with.

The 400,000 votes polled by the Democrats indicate that the liberal voters of Wisconsin have refused to follow erstwhile Progressive leaders into the Republican Party and are now supporting liberal Democrats.

Minneapolis, Minn.

The Democratic-Farm Labor Party coalition is still an uneasy marriage. Internal bickering within the D-FL made it no match for the smoothly oiled machine that Harold E. Stassen has been more than ten years in building. The D-FL will have only one instead of two representatives in the Minnesota congressional delegation next year. Representative Frank Starkey, a Catholic, was eliminated, largely by a Red-baiting attack, losing by 3,500 out of nearly 90,000 votes. The D-FL also failed to elect a successor to the late D-FL Representative Gallagher. The Republican MacKinnon, who will replace Gallagher, campaigned on his record as a university football player and war veteran.



HURLEY, Patrick J.
(R) New Mexico

WHERRY, Kenneth S.
(R) Nebraska

Voting throughout the state was unexpectedly light, and labor voted well below its proportionate share. Labor leaders apparently thought that speeches and endorsements were all that was needed. The CIO-PAC was not really effective anywhere except in Duluth, where John A. Blatnick, a paratrooper captain in World War II, scored the only D-FL victory. Blatnick came in for heavy Red-baiting because of favorable comments he had made about his observations of Tito's regime in Yugoslavia during the war. His record in the state senate seems to assure progressive votes in the next Congress.

D-FL leaders put much of the blame for their weak showing on the Democratic National Committee, which tied up fund raising in the state. No congressional candidate had adequate funds and the state campaign had virtually none. Without the visits of Wallace and Pepper, the defeatism which infected many formerly active political workers on the liberal side might have turned into an epidemic during the campaign.

Northwest

Helena, Mont.

THE NORTHWEST went Republican with the tide. In many cases, the voter seemed to accept the Republicans with reluctance; in certain areas, local issues played a part, but everywhere smears, fears, shortages and the static attitude of the Truman Administration bolstered the Republican cause. Housewives turned out in large numbers to vote for the GOP in revenge for shortages they blamed on the Democrats.

The failure of Leif Erickson and Hugh Mitchell to gain Senate seats means a severe setback to MVA and CVA legislation for at least six years. Zales Ecton defeated Leif Erickson, the conqueror of Burton Wheeler. Ecton is a Republican rancher and state senator who reminds one remarkably of a plump Calvin Coolidge. He had the support of all the facilities of the Anaconda press and of a council of businessmen, all with Anaconda connections. The Council mailed to every registered voter in the state a book-sized pamphlet attacking Erickson. The large Catholic labor vote in Butte was persuaded to desert Erickson on the grounds that he supported communism. D'Ewart, the incumbent Representative in the 2nd District, was reëlected. Mike Mansfield was the only Democrat to survive the storm, but he has never antagonized the "Company."

Bismark, N. D.

Here a Republican sweep was led by Senator William Langer, who ran on a joint Non-Partisan League-Republican ticket. The GOP spent more money on his election proportionately than on any other Senate race, in the hope of ensuring his vote, since they had put up practically no money for him in 1940. Senator Langer's vote is still securely in his own pocket, though he will coöperate with the GOP for patronage purposes.

Seattle, Wash.

Washington saw the defeat of Senator Mitchell by Republican Harry Cain, former Democrat and political opportunist. Only one Democrat was reëlected—Henry Jackson of the 2nd District. He will be the only Democratic Representative from the Oregon-

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Idaho-Washington area. The reasons for the defeats are complex. During the campaign Governor Wallgren antagonized several pressure groups, including the teachers. The GOP Communist bogey was especially effective in this state, where the Republicans pointed to Representative Hugh DeLacy, accused of being a party-liner even by some fellow Democrats. Finally, President Truman's labor record did not attract the large labor vote generally depended on by the Democrats. While the people were voting for the GOP, they did, however, defend the principle of public power in a referendum.

Boise, Ida.

Despite Senator Glen Taylor's best efforts, Idaho went completely Republican. John Sanborn, lawyer-farmer who defeated Democrat Peter Leguineche for the 2nd District congressional seat, can be counted on to vote a straight conservative line. Henry Dworshak's move to the Senate will assure a vote to offset that of Taylor on almost all issues. The election of these two particular men must be considered a strengthening of isolationism in Congress.

Portland, Ore.

Oregon continued its Republican ways and no surprises were registered. However, in this state which is dominated by large anti-CIO lumber interests, Manley Wilson, editor of the CIO *Woodworker,* won the only Democratic seat in the state House of Representatives.

Salt Lake City, Utah

Perhaps the biggest surprises were in Utah, where Senator Abe Murdock and Representative Will Robinson were narrowly defeated by Arthur Watkins and William Dawson, heretofore unknown Republicans. Walter Granger, the Democratic incumbent in the 1st District, was leading by 106 votes as this was written. The reasons for these startling upsets have their roots in national politics, but locally the Democratic Party workers were overconfident and mismanaged the campaign badly in the Salt Lake City area. To this should be added the fact that there is a growing split between the Governor Maw Democrats and the Senator Thomas liberal wing.

California

Los Angeles, Calif.

In spite of the fact that California Democrats registered two to one over Republicans this year, the total vote on November 5, which fell under 60 percent of the potential, indicated that they did not follow through on the final vote. Result was victory for the Republican Senate nominee, William S. Knowland, and defeat for eight Democratic stalwarts in the House. Among those who did not win both party elections in the primary, only Frank Havenner of San Francisco and Helen Gahagan Douglas of Los Angeles rode out the Republican tide. Mrs. Douglas was singled out by the Republican National Committee for perhaps the strongest attack. The committee even went so far as to bring in Joe Louis to strengthen the Negro candidate opposing her.

San Francisco, Calif.

Republicans in San Francisco got out more regular votes than the Democrats. On the basis of registration where labor came out to vote, districts it dominates went heavily Democratic. But many labor areas showed an exceptionally light vote, probably due to the failure of local leadership to organize a strong turnout.

Regular Democrats here, as in Southern California, do not conceal their resentment at left-wing efforts to take control of the party organization. There is no doubt that some Democrats crossed party lines in protest against such possible domination. Left-wingers still have much to learn about good old American give-and-take to survive in high-voltage areas like California.

Fulbright's Idea

President Truman has wisely ignored Senator William Fulbright's suggestion that he resign as a result of the Republican landslide and turn the White House over to the Republicans. But Fulbright's suggestion, accompanied by similar proposals from the friendly Chicago *Sun* and Atlanta *Constitution,* have stirred up a stimulating and long overdue discussion of constitutional changes which would make our government more like the British parliamentary system.

Fulbright probably had this in mind. He got the front pages with his suggestion for resignation, then used them to plump for a constitutional change to give us the parliamentary form of government. He proposed that whenever the Congress was controlled by a party different from the President's it could order a national election that would require both the President and the members of Congress to stand for reëlection.

There will be much dissent from this particular form of change. But that something of the kind is in order has long been the view of many students of government. Support for a change that would make the President and Congress work together grew rapidly during the last few years of the Roosevelt Administration when Congress repeatedly turned down vital legislative proposals of the Administration, including higher taxation during the war, price control to last through the postwar emergency and similar bills opposed by the vested interests. Fulbright's limited plan would not have helped in this situation. It would only apply when different parties controlled the White House and Congress. But as recent years have shown, the conflict can be almost as serious when the same party nominally controls both branches of the government.

Some friends of change contend that Fulbright's idea might be what is needed if it also included provision for the President to force an election showdown by making certain issues questions of confidence, as can the British Prime Minister, so that if Congress did not go along, the people could decide who was right. This probably would have saved the country from the current difficulty over price control. President Roosevelt—or even President Truman last fall—could have forced Congress to extend price control for two years after the war or forced Congress to face the people on the issue.

One of the chief improvements in this system would be that such an election would revolve about a central issue—such as price control—instead of a thousand issues different in every congressional district. Many political scientists think the idea is worth studying.

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Washington Wire—Our Own Crystal Ball

TRY TO IMAGINE the sensations of a weekly columnist who launches his article, like a ball down a bowling alley, and then waits seven days to see if it hits. We filed our last week's stint on the assumption (self-evident to us) of a Republican landslide, based our observations and predictions upon it—and the nation backed us up. We won our only election bet, too. Naturally we can't feel so badly after that; or, at least, we take a grim satisfaction in knowing that the worst has happened, and according to our schedule.

Our less agile contemporaries, *Time* and *Newsweek*, seem to feel that they must wait till after an election to comment upon it even while postdating their issues. Thus *Time's* November 11 number looks pretty silly with Harry Truman just stepping off his special train to vote at Independence. *Newsweek* covers up rather better with an embarrassed past-tense lead explaining that for the first time in seven years an election "was held" without a war background. Tut-tut. The two rivals use the identical lead photograph of Truman in Missouri, too. A pity elections fall constitutionally on Tuesdays, when weeklies go to press Mondays.

Predicting the election outcome was no chore for us. We come by it naturally. For example, we predicted the other day that if you took off OPA controls, prices would jump. At the time it seemed simple enough to throw off a little thing like that. But when the result came, it caused amazement to millions. Looking at the bewildered faces, we suddenly discovered that we were a genuine prophet, and no mistake. Just to show our powers, let's dash off a few additional predictions while we're in the mood. We predict (beg pardon, Drew) that:

1. Most of America's editorial writers in the days ahead will implore Democrats in Washington to coöperate.
2. They won't.
3. Some editorials will urge Truman to resign.
4. He won't.
5. Both parties will claim credit for balancing the budget in 1947.
6. There will be a serious break in farm prices in 1947.
7. When the foregoing happens, farm spokesmen who have been denouncing government interference will demand more of it. (This has already started in cotton.)
8. Labor, in the months ahead, will inevitably demand higher wages to meet higher living costs.
9. Management will blame all future woes on labor's demands.
10. The Republican presidential nominee in 1948 will win.
11. There will be a good-sized business recession within 12 months.
12. The Big Bust, however, won't come for a matter of years, and our clouded crystal ball doesn't set the date (worse luck). But when it comes it will be a beaut, and about that time a lot of current American opposition to planning will quietly evaporate—this time for keeps.

Truman should of course resign, but won't. By a perfectly providential coincidence there is no Vice President, so it would be easy for him to name Taft, Vandenberg, Dewey or who-have-you to be Secretary of State, and then quit. Arguments against this simple proposal are: (1) That the President should be elected, not appointed; (2) that it would be a mean trick to deprive thousands of Democrats appointed by the President of their jobs two years early; (3) that it would throw Republicans into a dither trying to decide who is their leader anyway, and (4) that it's never been done.

There is a fifth reason which nobody mentions much but which is important, if not conclusive. The American people believe a lame-duck President should suffer. He has been repudiated and now, by golly, we want to see him squirm. It is a sadistic trait which has to be reckoned with. The next two years should be agony for Truman, as they were, before him, for Taft, Wilson and Hoover. Of course it's bad for the nation—and for the world, too. But if Truman quit now, how could we gloat over his miserable predicament, the most humiliating which any democracy imposes upon a defeated leader? . . .

Before we leave this subject we have a correction to make. We have several times noted that a minority party which captures the House in midterm generally captures the presidency two years later. In fact that has been the rule for half a century. But we pushed the rule back too far to the Civil War; actually, both Garfield (R) in 1880 and Harrison (R) in 1888, broke the rule.

We have an instinctive suspicion that the Republicans are isolationist. This is too serious a matter to joke about. It may well prove to be the most dangerous consequence of the election. Republicans will deny it. Look at Vandenberg's support of Byrnes, they will say. But this misses the point. Today you can wreck world coöperation as easily by a Smoot-Hawley tariff as by killing a League of Nations. Internationalism now is basically economic. As the new Congress stands, the British loan agreement couldn't have passed, nor probably Bretton Woods either. You have to know some of the GOP leaders like Wherry and Harold Knutson, forthcoming chairman of the all-powerful Ways and Means Committee, and some newcomers like Bricker, to realize the terrible danger ahead.

Notes.—Planned-economy item: Britain's cost-of-living has risen four points since 1941; Canada's only 11 points. . . . Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.), new "Dies" committee chairman, will make Ham Fish look like a sucking dove. . . . Proposed slogan for the Taft presidential campaign: "Come weal, come woe, my status is quo." . . . Southern Democrats will probably make a quick break with former GOP allies. . . . British Commons is getting ready to be shocked over a mild degree of chain press control insignificant compared to our own system.

Washington T. R. B.

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Real Threat to Free Enterprise

by Carroll Kilpatrick

THE THREAT to free enterprise in this country is real, just as the Republican leaders say. We Americans have talked about the danger of monopoly for so many years that most of us are bored with the subject. But we have neither mastered the monopolies nor broken them, and the government is far behind on the job. In the first place, it takes the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice years to prove a violation of the Sherman or Clayton Anti-Trust Acts. During this summer the Department instituted 19 anti-trust suits, basing its complaints on practices that began from five to 30 years ago and still continue.

An examination of some of these cases will show the damage which a monopoly can cause. The case against the American Can Company and the Continental Can Company, Inc., the two largest can manufacturers in the United States, is a good example. A federal grand jury indicted them this summer for engaging "in a wrongful and unlawful combination and conspiracy . . . to fix, determine, establish, raise and maintain uniform, arbitrary and noncompetitive prices."

That was about all the newspapers reported on the indictment. The indictment said, however, that the companies inaugurated the practices for which they were indicted in 1935, eleven years ago. The companies, the indictment said, agreed at secret meetings on the prices they would charge for cans, on the discounts they would allow certain purchasers and on the prices for cartons in which cans are packed and shipped.

Perhaps of deeper significance is the civil complaint brought against a group of New York banks and insurance companies. The complaint says that they have agreed to fix mortgage-loan rates and virtually to usurp the powers of government. It charges that these lending agencies, which control more than 60 percent of the mortgage loans in the New York City area, have *since 1933* violated the Sherman Act by eliminating and preventing competition for mortgage loans, by fixing minimum interest rates and by preventing new construction if such construction might lessen the income from real estate in which mortgage-lending institutions have substantial interests.

In prosecuting anti-trust cases Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Anti-Trust Division, is seeking to reverse the wartime trend toward monopoly and the freezing out of independent business operators. In the last quarter of 1945, he points out, there were more mergers and acquisitions in manufacturing than at any time in the past 15 years.

An example of "freezing out" by a monopoly is found in an indictment returned last summer against the Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation, the US Vanadium Corporation, the Electro-Metallurgical Company and their officers. For three years, it is charged, those companies "have controlled 100 percent of the production and sale of ferrovanadium [used in production of steel] and 100 percent of the sale of vanadium oxide to consumers in the United States. Independent vanadium-oxide mills have been forced to cease operations."

MONOPOLY IS GROWING

Perhaps the most sensational indictment of the last few months was against the A. B. Dick Company, which since 1899 has been the country's largest manufacturer and distributor of stencils and mimeographing machines. The indictment charges that Dick and its dealers "have, *since 1917*, engaged in systematic spying on competitors to secure confidential information concerning their customers and, by the use of threats, falsehoods and misstatements of fact and by jimmying, tampering with, obstructing, damaging or otherwise adversely affecting the operation of machines, have induced, compelled or coerced users of Dick machines to purchase and use Dick stencils and other duplicating supplies rather than those manufactured and sold by Dick's competitors."

As a result of these examples of individual initiative and free enterprise, Dick has controlled "the entire supply of stencil-base tissue in the United States . . . and no competitor can manufacture or sell stencils without Dick's consent." According to the indictment, these malpractices have existed for nearly 30 years.

The Justice Department is speeding up the work of its Anti-Trust Division, but the task is monumental. During the war more than 500,000 independent business concerns went out of existence. Some of them are coming back, but many were absorbed by larger companies. Before the war, 100 large corporations produced about 30 percent of the nation's manufacturing output; now they account for 70 percent of it.

"The concentration of economic power in the hands of a few small vested groups is today higher than ever before in our history," according to Wendell Berge. But his Anti-Trust Division is too small to do the job adequately and the government agencies that are supposed to help small business seem ineffectual.

In 1944, the Department instituted 25 anti-trust

Carroll Kilpatrick has been for some time on the Washington staff of the Chicago Sun.

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suits, of which 12 have been won, one lost; 12 are still pending. Of the 25 instituted in 1945, six have been won and 19 are pending. Already 31 suits have been instituted this year. All of them are pending.

During the war, anti-trust work was slowed down by special agreement with the Army and Navy, which early in 1942 asked the Justice Department to suspend prosecutions and suits that might interfere with the production of war materials. The Army-Navy request was withdrawn in August, 1945, but the Department has not had the staff to go ahead with more than a few of the old cases. There have been complaints that Tom C. Clark, the Attorney General, who once was head of the Anti-Trust Division, has tried to slow Berge down in his work. The record shows only two differences between Clark and Berge to date. The Attorney General overruled Berge when the latter recommended disapproval of the sale of the Geneva Steel Plant to the United States Steel Corporation. Clark insisted also that plans to seek a criminal indictment against the New York banks and insurance companies be dropped and that a civil complaint be filed instead.

In his new book, *The Shore Dimly Seen*, Governor Ellis G. Arnall of Georgia suggests that the anti-trust laws should be amended to force liquidation of a corporation that twice violates the Sherman or Clayton Acts. He likewise suggests mandatory awards of damages in all civil actions. Arnall prefers liquidation of the offending corporation to public ownership, except where natural monopolies exist. And when there is public regulation, he thinks it should be much more direct and affirmative than, for example, the regulation of railroads by the ICC has been.

However, despite the slowdown of the war years and the inadequate staff in anti-trust, the government has won some notable victories—the Associated Press case; the case against the American, Liggett and Myers and R. J. Reynolds tobacco companies; the Hartford Empire glass cases; and the case against the Southeastern Underwriters' Association (fire insurance).

But there are many more cases that only now are being investigated. They cover hundreds of fields of business, such as coal, soft drinks, paper products, petroleum, roofing, washing machines, radio speakers, books, plumbing fixtures, parking meters, hospital beds, shipping rates, motion-picture distribution, outdoor advertising, gas refrigerators, thread, camera lenses, hosiery machinery and oil-drilling equipment.

While the lawyers spend years collecting evidence to support an indictment, the average consumer can lose hundreds of dollars, countless independent businesses can be driven to the wall and the whole economy seriously damaged. Meanwhile, Republican congressmen, the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, while continuing to cry about the threat to free enterprise, will go right on fighting against adequate appropriations for the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice.

Reading the Ads

by Thomas Whiteside

PRINTERS' INK, a journal circulated in the advertising trade, brings news of some interesting products to be promoted by our press. It seems that during the next critical year our newspapers will devote considerable space to the development of manliness in the American male. This desirable objective is to be impressed on the American mind by the Alfred D. McKelvy Company, makers of Seaforth Toiletries for Men. The ads, says *Printers' Ink*, combine "the sex-appeal theme and the success story" to "tell men just how the use of men's toiletries may help them achieve success in business and in their social life." Each ad will show in the foreground a beautiful girl, her eyes glistening with admiration for the noble, sprightly figure who approaches with a firm step from a background "typical of places that successful men frequent" (such as an airport). He is, of course, heavily perfumed with Seaforth toiletries. The whole thing is appropriately captioned: "Now there's a man I'd like to meet!"

This series, as *Printers' Ink* notes, is aimed directly at men, in contradistinction to Seaforth's "What I know about Joe" campaign, written for the gift trade. The latter was "strictly in the sex vein," as, for example, on Joe's social attributes: ". . . The way he says hello .-. . and listens with his left eyebrow. And does things on his own. And he trails a suggestion of heather that's pretty clean and outdoors-y and strictly wonderful. . . ."

It occurred to me that I hadn't heard of the elite of other lands, men like Molotov or Oscar Lange, trailing suggestions of heather. I wondered how they would react to the ads for this American industry which in 1945 sold $50 million worth of men's perfume goods. Would they understand? I have just been taking a look at the Polish press. It hasn't much room for advertising: most Warsaw or Cracow papers have only four small pages closely crammed with type. But the ads are interesting, in their way:

Thomas Whiteside is a member of the editorial staff of the New Republic.

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. . . SANGERHAUSEN concentration camp, Lladislav Bittner, born October 17, 1910. Camp No. 73143. Section E, Block 4. Any information of any kind is urgently requested by his wife, Barbara, Krakow, Mikolajska 20.

WHOEVER has any news of Wiltod Summer, alias Lladislav Jankoski, last seen Warsaw September 20 during the uprising (of 1944) at Solec St. is warmly requested to inform the wife Marie, Krakow, Podbrzezie 5.

The Short and Simple Annals . . .

Day after day the search goes on. *Badyga Boleslav, farmer, was arrested in Liw, County Wengrow, by the Germans and taken to Sokolow concentration camp and has not returned to this day.* His wife is the advertiser. If she gets no answer, perhaps she can go to one of the fortune tellers whose advertisements are craftily inserted in the missing-persons columns. *Clairvoyant, the only genuine one in Warsaw, guarantees to reveal past, present and future.*

The most stable currency is bread. *A woman English specialist seeks lessons and conversation in exchange for dinner, Madelinskego 71.* (What does a woman English specialist speak of in Warsaw today with the smell of food in her nostrils?) *The Ministry of Commerce seeks workers for the new recovered* (German) *lands. Good conditions, apply Stalin Avenue 4.*

In the Hungarian press:

"Former members of the 'Kiska' companies, especially those Jewish and persecuted leftist comrades who were supplied with false identification cards, should report immediately to their former commander, in order to prove their participation in the resistance movement."

A four-cylinder Deutsche Krafts Werke car for sale: can prove ownership. . . . Carpets made of paper shipped C. O. D., apply to Parliament Book Shop. *Mrs. David Gerro, in her own name, in the name of her children not yet returned from deportation and in the name of her deported grandchildren, announces the death of her husband.*

. . . I would like to buy a goat giving ample milk.

. . . I repair your bomb-damaged home on the Buda side.

. . . Dancing till dawn at the Café Broadway, Budapest's newest attraction.

In the Rumanian press all conditions and varieties of clothes are advertised for sale—by individuals. This is the only way in which many can keep alive. Nobody is foolish enough to advertise for meat. *Oral negotiations will take place at Elizabeta 9, third floor, upon receipt of offers for the sale of potatoes to the Civil Hospitals.* The papers are full of advertisements requesting vegetables.

Housing in Bucharest is, of course, extremely scarce. An apartment is the best inducement to many things: *Government employee, noble soul, furnished apartment in the center of the city, wishes marriage.* Money is inflated, but still necessary: *Professional, 40, wishes marriage with housewife, fat, having some money.* For sale, one pair of shoes, 450,000 lei.

In Czechoslovakia, things seem to be picking up: *After seven years of bitterness, the Orion Chocolate Factory brings you sweets.* Picture of an admiring Czech family gathered around a box of Orion chocolates. Ads for domestic servants are to be found in the Prague Communist newspaper *Rude Pravo.* The frontier (evacuated Sudetenland) area calls for building engineers, secretaries, cooks. *The former German firm of E. Bittner—now state administered—reduces the price of its puddings! The first Czech firm to do so!*

In ruined Berlin, the ads announce the German première of "Der Letzte Schleier" ("The Seventh Veil"). *Who has news of Obgefr. Willi Schormann, Mackensen 12, Bat. Art.-Reg. 27—last news January 2, 1944, from Stalingrad?* The dress shop Paulitz announces that it makes "warm and good" women's panties from drapes and covers provided by the customer.

The Minutiae of Empire

In English newspapers, the Ministry of Agriculture is a heavy advertiser. *Dig for Plenty! For next year's vegetables—YOU MUST DIG NOW!* Ads capitalize on the general tension: *WHEN YOU GET SO FED UP YOU COULD THROW THINGS—relax with a nice cup of Rowntrees Cocoa.* Many show how to make things go further: *No grumbles about eggs—get every possible egg with Karswood Poultry Spice! . . . Your basic petrol goes longer with Vol-O-Pep Petrol Energizing Tablets.* Some advertisers show traces of Yankification: *Get rid of mice with SCRAM compound.* Through the front page of the London *Times*, where are transacted the minutia of empire, new colonial vistas are opening up: *Assistant Accountant Required by the Sierre Leone Government. . . . The Uganda Government requires an Instructor of Plumbing. . . . The Gold Coast Government invites applications for the post of Tax Assessment Officer.* (Had someone let the old team down in the Gold Coast? I remember reading in an obscure British publication named the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, that Bechuanaland tax collectors had "used pepper on the natives" as a means of persuasion, as the result of which, I believe, questions were asked in Commons.)

Tea plantation for sale in the Cholo district of Nyasaland. . . . For sale, court dress, sword, cocked hat, worn three times only. . . . Demobbed major, 30, parachutist, 2½ years' experience with underground movements in S. E. Europe and Malaya, seeks occupation; personal safety of little interest.

There are ads, too, in the outposts of empire.

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In India, the *Hindu* of Madras carries 103 inches of Help-Wanted ads to one and a half of Positions Wanted. *A BHARAT insurance policy is your charter of freedom from . . . the nightmare of dowries for your growing daughters.* A financier is wanted to invest a lakh (million) of rupees—golden opportunity for capitalists. *Wanted: non-Vasishta Madwa groom with decent income for girl of 17, literate and domestically trained. Apply with horoscope to Box 499.*

I suppose that an American advertising copywriter could whip out some stout, snappy prose on the pleasures of playing a musical instrument: Delight your friends!—be the life of the party—you're in the swing with a genuine Kappenberger harmonium!

In India these days, copywriters take a wiser tack. A musical ad in the *Hindu* puts it this way: *"Drive out your sorrows and worries—with a Dwarkin Harmonium."*

British Labor and the Colonies

by Rita Hinden

IF THERE is one point on which the British labor movement has rapidly become educated since the party took office last year, it is that there is no simple answer to the problems of empire. Today the Labor Party, face to face with all the complexities of power and bearing the brunt of momentous decisions, is caught in a philosophical dilemma.

For many years its attitude on colonial policy has been one of uneasy compromise between two streams of thought. The first stream might be styled the "liquidationists," and the second the "amelioration-ists." The liquidationists' argument is that imperialism is the last phase of a decadent capitalist system; that rivalries between different nations for overseas markets and investment channels constantly embroil the world in war and lead to the unbridled exploitation of native populations. Imperialism is therefore a wholly pernicious thing, and the only proper policy for a socialist is to struggle for the liquidation of empires.

While most British Socialists accept this economic analysis of imperialism, they have been at least as much influenced by a second stream of thought—the humanist. The strong religious feelings of the Victorian age and the Non-Conformist conscience which gave so marked an ethical content to the early British socialist movement were increasingly revolted as more was learned of conditions in Africa and the East. Liberals and socialists felt a strong moral responsibility to right the wrongs done in Britain's name. A sense of guilt coupled with a sense of responsibility has, therefore, been the emotional basis of the British socialist's approach to empire. As the interdependence of all parts of the world became increasingly plain and as the Labor Party grew in strength and faced the possibility of governmental office, the emphasis has shifted away from liquidation. The sense of responsibility, both to the colonies and to Britain's own interests, has been uppermost, and socialists have occupied themselves more and more with the formulation of practical programs of reform. Most people in the British Left today are aware that for Britain to "walk out" of the colonies would provide no solution.

More Than Reform Is Needed

The fact is, that although Labor no longer stands for liquidation, it is also dissatisfied with amelioration. A policy of reform, however worthy, does not begin to answer the strident cries of colonial nationalism, and carries no conviction that the British empire, even when run by socialists, is anything but the same old wolf decked out in a new sheepskin. Everyone in the party knows that the peoples of the empire can no longer be held together on the old terms. This was why the recognition of India's right to independence and the announcement that British troops would be withdrawn from Egypt were received with so much enthusiasm in socialist circles. But India is an immense subcontinent, with an educated leadership to grasp the reins of government. Egypt has never been a British colony and Britain had no moral right there at all; in these cases the issue is clear. But for the rest of the vast and scattered empire—60 million people in 50 territories—the right course is not so obvious.

The painstaking day-to-day work of improving colonial conditions, to which Labor has set its hand, must go on. But almost every socialist feels that something over and above this is needed. What is to be the future relationship between Britain and the colonies? What political status will give satisfaction to the colonial peoples? What are the new terms on which the colonies are to be approached?

Rita Hinden, British journalist and writer, is the author, among other books, of Plan for Africa. *She is the secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, and presents herewith a defense, from the point of view of a Labor Party sympathizer, of the present government's colonial policy.*

In the near future the New Republic *will publish a sharp attack on British colonial policy by Paul M. Sweezy and Lewis S. Feuer.* – THE EDITORS

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Labor in its year of office has already done much good work. With the end of the war, a thousand and one problems were crying for settlement.

An immediate question was the future of Malaya. With the expulsion of the Japanese, a unique opportunity was offered for the future of this country. Malaya had been split into a dozen separate administrative units, most of them ruled by picturesque but ineffective sultans. The Malays themselves were only a third of the population, the other two-thirds being composed of immigrant Chinese and Indians, many of whom were denied elementary citizenship rights. Labor decided to unify the whole territory, with the exception of Singapore, into one Malayan Union with a central parliament, to grant common citizenship to all the races and whittle down the powers of the sultans in all but religious matters.

Malaya and East Africa

The path of this reform has not been strewn with roses. Old ex-governors of Malaya, with a sentimental regard for Malays ("such easy-going, pleasant, careless people"); leading lights of the Conservative Party fearing for their rubber and tin interests under a new democratic Malaya; the Malays themselves apprehensive that their special privileges would be lost and they would be swamped by the Chinese; and the sultans, clinging to their thrones and swept forward by a nascent Malay nationalism, have all combined to oppose the plan on the ground that the government has acted dishonestly in jockeying the sultans into signing agreements they did not understand, in acting with "indecent haste" and in pushing through schemes without "consulting the people."

East Africa is another thorny problem. In Kenya the controversy hangs on the existence of a small white-settler population. Surrounded by a vast sea of Africans, these settlers have maintained themselves in a privileged economic and dominant political position. Labor has always inveighed against this caste system and the consequent bad treatment which the natives have suffered. After a few months in office two of its proposals were published, the first dealing with land settlement in Kenya, which is the crux of the racial problem there. This did not suggest any violent expropriation of the settlers; on the contrary, it allowed for the admission of 500 more, mainly ex-servicemen. But it did outline a vast scheme of settling Africans on new lands, and resettling them on old, with improved agricultural techniques and government subsidies. It was made clear that Europeans could no longer expect special help from government funds.

The second proposals were political. In the legislative councils of the three East African colonies the Europeans predominate overwhelmingly. But now it has been proposed to set up a sort of federal legislature to deal with services common to all three countries. In this legislature each country would have an equal number of seats, and these would be divided equally among Europeans, Africans and Indians.

Perhaps it is on the economic side that Labor should make its greatest contribution, but here the position is not easy. Britain has not the resources for spending vast sums of money overseas, and the only funds which can possibly be found for the colonies are the $480 million voted under the previous government for ten years of development and welfare work. Some plans for spending this money had already been prepared, but they were incomplete and somewhat haphazard. The $480 million have now been divided among all the colonies, with the request that they themselves raise further sums through taxation and loans, and use the total to prepare ten-year-development plans. The plans are now coming through. The most impressive is for Nigeria, where something like $200 million is to be expended. A Colonial Development Council in London will initiate and coördinate planning.

There is also the problem of the prevention of exploitation. Colonies have been exploited in many ways —through the low prices given for products by trading firms, through the abuse of labor, through the draining away of natural resources. It is not easy to eliminate any of those evils merely by legislative action. The workers' own defensive organizations—trade unions and coöperatives, for example—must be built. The preceding government began this work and Labor is giving all the help it can by strengthening labor departments, appointing skilled trade-union and cooperative advisers and setting up special machinery to encourage coöperatives. A new minerals policy is also on the stocks and income taxes are being increased so that big companies pay their share to colonial revenues.

Outmoded Machinery; Inadequate Resources

It could not be long before any socialist government worth its salt turned its attentions to the civil service. Far-reaching plans for the reform of the Colonial Service have now been published, aiming to bring the educated colonial into the highest posts of the service. Four million dollars are to be granted for scholarships to train colonial peoples for senior administrative posts, and a further $6 million for special post-selection training for both colonials and other recruits. It is also proposed to retire civil servants who have not yet reached pensionable age, if the Governor and the Colonial Secretary believe it to be in the public interest.

Even with the best will and the most determined energy, it is simply not possible for any British government to work dramatic changes in the colonies in a twinkling. The Colonial Office is a vast, cumbersome, slow-moving machine. Before anything can be done, this whole complex machine must be made to work in harmony. Yet the interests which sway a colonial legislature, and which motivate a civil servant who has

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lived out in the bush for perhaps 20 years, or in sheltered exclusiveness in the secretariat, may well be very different from those which predominate in the corridors of Downing Street or inspire idealistic young MP's. Labor sends two ministers to the Colonial Office and they have somehow to swing this formidable machine into motion. Their every move can be defeated through administrative action—or lack of it.

Another very real obstacle is the sheer inadequacy of resources. Exhausted by the all-out war effort, Britain has not the trained men, the equipment or the money to push ahead with spectacular schemes. The cadres of the civil service are depleted, the men exhausted, supplies of everything hopelessly short. Yet this is all there is to grapple with the intractable questions of illiterate populations, eroding soil, a hostile climate, disease and pests, awesome hurdles which have to be leaped before any real impact can be made on the most basic colonial problem of all—poverty.

There is also human opposition to be reckoned with. Both in Britain and in the colonies there are strong "vested interests" which are only too ready to fight marketing schemes, to oppose taxation, to cling to their lands and to hang on to privilege. All those who have drawn their privileges from imperial rule now rise in protest and cast mud at the Labor Government, usually by perverting Labor's own principles into sticks to beat her. This is particularly striking in the Malayan controversy, where opposition to the plan has centered in an allegation that "the people have not been consulted"—much the same as in the cession of Sarawak.

Still, these interests can be met on their own ground. More difficult to handle, because here Labor is itself on more uncertain ground, are the attacks of the out-and-out anti-imperialist or liquidationist school within Labor's own ranks. Although this group is not powerful, it is vocal and carries weight just because it finds a certain echo in the hearts of all socialists. The anti-imperialists are out to put the worst possible interpretation on every action of the Colonial Office. Their criticisms find fertile soil because of the astounding ignorance in Britain about the colonies.

Nationalism v Imperialism

The last, but by no means the least, of the forces of opposition are the colonial peoples themselves. In almost all colonies nationalist movements are stirring, and the essence of a nationalist movement is to hate the alien ruler and to struggle for his deposition. The more educated the colonials become, the more scholarships to British universities the Treasury grants, the more trade unions fostered, the better organized and more vocal do these nationalist movements grow. To them the precise complexion of a government makes little difference, because it is still an alien government; and their mental attitude is focused to find fault with every act of the imperial power. Some of the best laid plans of the Labor Government may founder against this unbreakable—and often illogical—opposition.

Today there is much heart-searching on this problem among socialist circles in Britain. There is so much that is valid in the colonials' case, so much reason for that suspicion when the faults of past administrators are remembered and when one finds that most of them are still firmly in the saddle. And the great difficulty of the British socialist is that he does so deeply sympathize with the demand of all subject peoples to self-determination: he is miserable and awkward when the demand is raised and he cannot see the practical possibility of granting it. In these circumstances many proposals have been made as to ways of developing real collaboration. But one wonders if they are ultimately possible. It is inherent in the situation that the nationalist leaders cannot compromise. Even if in their heart of hearts they know that they cannot immediately take over complete control, Britain will continue to be the scapegoat, for it is upon this that the life of the nationalist movements depends.

Wanted: An Association of Free Nations

The great need now is for Labor to prove that the continuity with the past is not so complete as it superficially appears. This has been demonstrated in the cases of India and Egypt, but the way has not yet been found for the colonies—even the bold plans for Malaya have not had quite the right feel about them. Has the time come for Labor ringingly to proclaim that it unambiguously recognizes the right of all peoples to self-determination; and that, in pursuance of this recognition, it will now put on the colonial peoples themselves the onus of choosing their own future constitutions and their place within—or without—the British Commonwealth? Although it may not be possible to carry out such an experiment everywhere in Africa, it could be done in the West Indies and perhaps in Cyprus and Mauritius. Probably the constitutions and status chosen in this way would not be very different from what would be attained anyhow by Whitehall methods, but psychologically there would be the world of difference, and the principle of self-determination would have been vindicated.

Ultimately what most British socialists want is to convert the discontented, slum-ridden old empire into a voluntary association of free nations. This free association, founded on treaties of mutual help, seems an ideal more in tune with the interdependence of the world of today than the disintegration of the empire into small, poor and defenseless states, an inevitable prey to home-grown as well as foreign pirates. Such a solution might also afford a reconciliation, at a very high level, both of legitimate British interests and the legitimate demands of colonial nationalism. How to achieve this before the colonies flare up into angry rebellion remains the unanswered question.

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Editorials

We Were Licked!

PROGRESSIVES this week would do well to remember Joe Stillwell, the Vinegar Joe who came out of the jungles of Burma to tell the world, "We took a hell-uva beating," and then marched back in again. The progressive position as a result of this election is the weakest it has been since 1928 when the Hoover Republicans had things their own way in the House.

Of the meager 187 members the Democrats will have in the Eightieth Congress, 100 will be Southern Democrats, whose propensity to act like Republicans a large part of the time has been no secret in the past. As a rough indication of the liberal strength in the new House, note that of the 77 Representatives who scored plus on eight or more of the 10 *New Republic* test roll calls early this year, only 36 will be coming back next year. The unofficial leader of the informal liberal bloc in the last Congress, George Outland of California, was himself defeated. His loss for the liberal cause is the equivalent of at least 10 average Northern Democrats. West Coast results alone effectively dramatize our weakened position. Washington correspondents in a recent poll selected as the most effective West Coast Representatives in the order named: Jerry Voorhis (Calif.), Helen Gahagan Douglas (Calif.), George Outland (Calif.) and Hugh DeLacy (Wash.). Only Helen Douglas was returned.

Selfishness rampant was clearly the symbol of this election. The 94-year-old citizen who declared he was voting for thick steaks and white shirts was typical.

On performance, the independent-political-action organizations rate a "poor," the regular Democratic organization a "much worse," grade.

The most encouraging post-election fact is the conclusion of the statisticians that this vote did not constitute a popular mandate for the Republicans or a rejection of the New Deal idea, as the press generally has declared; it really represented the failure of the Democratic and progressive forces to get out their own vote. The cardinal principle of the political-action movement still stands. "A big vote is a good vote"—for progress. This must still be our first goal.

A careful reading of the detailed reports the *New Republic* has collected from all the key election spots around the country convinces us that at least the following action proposals are in order:

Let's face facts. For our own purposes at least, let's study the independent-action story in the elections and find out where and why we failed.

Political action is year-round-every-year work. The slogan that "Elections Are Won Between Campaigns" is obviously one that belongs in every PAC primer. Even in those spots where the PAC was best organized in this campaign, liberalism was handicapped by the inexperience of poll watchers and precinct captains recruited at the last minute and obviously unfamiliar with their jobs. The two spots where the liberal side scored its most impressive victories—Denver and Duluth—were fertile ground because full-time organizers had begun cultivation at least 10 to 12 months in advance.

Proper attention and financial assistance will have to be given the South in 1948. Twenty-six of the 32 Senate seats that fall vacant two years from now lie in that region. Strong national fortifications will be required there.

Every effort should be made to turn the imminent resignation of Democratic National Chairman Robert Hannegan to liberal advantage. There are already signs of opposition to his anointed successor, Paul Fitzpatrick, New York State Democratic Chairman, on the basis of the poor showing his organization made in this election. Certainly the poor showing all the Democratic city machines made this year indicates that logically the new chairman should not be chosen from among those whose experience is limited to this party group. To be ready for the extra chance which analysis of the results has given them, the Democrats will need to reverse their usual policy of cutting national headquarters down to a skeleton staff between elections and instead strengthen their forces and do the job of educating the Negro and women's groups among others which turned to the GOP this time because the Democratic story had not reached them.

We must start now to make sure that as many state delegations as possible to both national conventions in 1948 are liberal delegations—bound not to an individual candidate but to a progressive platform. No national blitzkrieg from the liberal Parnassi even as early as six months before the conventions will do the job. The independent organizations have the power now to stimulate the local leaders who can produce the kind of delegations needed in 1948. If they don't move now, there will be no chance of an adequate result later.

The Conference of Progressives, formed in Chicago this fall, is planning a national meeting in Washington in mid-January which can advance us toward this objective if it is successful in drawing in a more broadly representative group than attended the Chicago session.

There is no secret formula for political success. The Republican reactionaries know no special magic. Their victories this year seem to be compounded of extra zeal, professional skill and very adequate financing.

This comprises no insuperable obstacle to a liberal Democratic success in 1948. The probable normal vote in the 1948 presidential election will be around 55 million. With the right kind of campaign, one which begins now and not on election eve, the Democrats and

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independent progressives together should be able to win the support of the 15 million who voted Democratic this year, plus the eight million who were not interested in voting Democratic this year, plus an additional six million. This must be our quota and our objective. This spells victory in '48 and a chance for a progressive America.

The Third Bloc

THE EXISTENCE of a so-called Eastern and a so-called Western bloc within the United Nations is a generally accepted fact. There is now growing evidence of a third bloc whose leadership is much farther to the Right and whose unity may be much tighter than any coalition of Western European states has been able to maintain.

As yet this third bloc is little more than a germ in Dr. Jose Arce's active mind. But as chief delegate from arch-fascist Argentina, Dr. Arce is doing all he can to develop the germ. Since the General Assembly opened he has called frequent conferences of Latin American states and has attempted to line them up in bloc support of an Argentine position that, by definition, is thoroughly reactionary on every issue.

Rich and comparatively well developed, Argentina hopes to use her economic superiority to win political influence south of the border. She counts on her recognized economic influence to line up the Latin American votes; she hopes that the prestige resulting from such leadership within the UN will increase her political prestige outside. Argentina's current fight is twofold: to win a seat on the Economic and Social Council, and to wage a procedural battle to increase General Assembly power at the expense of Security Council power. Early in the Assembly she proposed that the Economic and Social Council be expanded from 18 to 24 members. But when most powers took the position that the move was premature, Argentina bent her efforts to obtaining a seat on the Council as it now exists. Although it was generally agreed that Mexico should have the seat, Argentina's entry into the fight may force a more conservative compromise choice.

In the Assembly's Political Committee, Dr. Arce's influence as self-appointed spokesman for a Latin American bloc has already been felt. He has recognized that a majority of the UN's battles are being waged on a procedural level; he has entered the fight and won the first round. Dr. Arce submitted to the committee an amendment to a membership resolution, a procedural maneuver emphasizing the membership powers of the General Assembly over those of the Security Council. The amendment was carried, 20 to 14, with 15 abstentions. It is interesting that of those who voted for the amendment, no less than 15 were Latin American nations. Only Panama voted against. Venezuela abstained, Mexico and Nicaragua were absent. The United States as well as Russia, China and France voted against the amendment, although the ensuing quarrel between Manuilsky and Connally somewhat obscured this basic agreement.

It remains to be seen whether or not Argentina can speak effectively for the whole of Latin America. In some cases, these countries are already in agreement—on the evils of the veto and the excessive cost of a refugee organization. In some cases, as on the Spanish question, the more liberal South American countries will not support Argentina. But on other issues, perhaps not quite so clear-cut, Argentine leadership may make the Latin American bloc the strongest and most dangerous in the Assembly: strong because it will have 12 or 15 votes at its disposal, dangerous because these votes will inevitably oppose the Soviet Union without allowing the flexibility which the present Western bloc has and often exercises to steer its more conservative adherents toward a middle course.

Argentina bears watching.

Terror, Inc.

IT HARDLY seems possible that Americans would see the day when there would arise in this country an organization whose violence and malice would make the Ku Klux Klan seem mild by comparison. But the terrorist group in Atlanta, Georgia, which calls itself the Columbians, Inc., does just that, and its leaders boast of the fact. Their destiny, which runs parallel to KKK ideals, is, they say, "to separate the White from the Negro and the Jew from his money."

To this end, the wild man of the Columbians, Homer Loomis Jr., who claims to be a Groton and Princeton man, appeals for only those members "who are ready to kill Negroes and Jews." He advocates passing a law "to bury all Negroes in the sand." His henchmen, whose lightning-bolt emblem closely resembles that of the Nazi Elite Guard, have already blackjacked Negroes and apparently are linked to recent bombings of Negro homes.

Only a handful of full-time Columbians are veterans, but some of them are drawing GI unemployment compensation, while others are still on terminal leave.

Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke has set out, with Governor Arnall's blessing, to revoke the Columbians' charter, but admits that this cannot stop them. However, convictions for inciting to riot can.

What helps make this fascist group successful is its exploitation of the competition between whites and Negroes for Atlanta's limited housing. So, besides taking the harshest measures possible under the law against these psychopathic SS characters, the state of Georgia might also put up some decent houses in Atlanta as fast as it can. That would probably do as much as anything else to make the Columbians short of listeners and send them back to the poolrooms where they belong.

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Their Hunk of America

by Ralph G. Martin

Salt Lake City

YOU CAN SEE them every Sunday afternoon. They come to these 25 acres of barren land at the city's outskirts and they do funny things.

The man paces off his lot's boundary, counting aloud, his eyes almost closed. Then the young woman points to some invisible furniture in an invisible room and decides to put it somewhere else. But the man says no. They argue. And in the middle of the argument they both pause, then giggle or burst out laughing. Nobody watches them. Everybody else on the 25 acres is doing the same thing.

Everybody else means 106 veterans and their families, all of them incorporated in a non-profit, $750,000 housing project of their own, under the title, "Homeless Vets, Inc."

On Lot 65, Jack Morton told how the dream grew out of desperation. A few of them went from big-shot banker to big-shot contractor to big-shot architect and everybody said, yes, sir, we sure are willing to do everything in our power to help you boys, but right now our hands are tied. You know the situation. Shortage of materials. Tough to get labor. You know how it is.

The few grew to 20 veterans who couldn't afford to pay $15,000 for a $4,000 home. They thought they could buy tax-delinquent land cheap. But during the war, city and county officials had grabbed everything they could for themselves.

Still, they did find people who wanted to help. An architect handed them, absolutely free, 15 different completely detailed sets of plans and specifications. The president of the Interstate Brick Company promised them all the bricks they needed. The Union Trust Company said: "If the land's good, we'll finance it." The Plumbers' Union promised: "If any of the plumbers slack on the job, fire them. We'll get you others. What's more, we'll show you how to save money buying supplies."

They even found land. It was a big tract and they decided they'd need at least 100 veterans on it. So they put a small notice in the Salt Lake *Tribune*. "Any veteran interested in having his own home. . . ."

For the next weeks, from dawn to midnight, the 11 elected members of the board constantly picked up their phones to hear, "Well, how are we doing?"

They were doing fine. With every member pledging $500, they bought a 25-acre tract just outside the city limits, on the slope of a hill with a 50-mile view of the valley. It cost $38,000, about $355 apiece. Their nearest neighbor paid $1,200 for his single lot. They were saving money already. The county had promised to make the roads, if they'd pay for the oil. Their contractor was 27-year-old Navy vet Hamer Culp. This was his biggest job—he had only built two homes before. But he was smart and hard-working and they had faith in him. Instead of a whopping commission, he only wanted $400 a month.

The *Tribune* ran a big aerial picture of the tract with the caption, THIS IS THEIR HUNK OF AMERICA.

Several days later there was another picture of several smiling faces, saying, ALL THEY NEED NOW IS MATERIALS.

They all chipped in to send Hamer Culp to Washington to talk to Wilson Wyatt. It seemed to them that veterans who built homes should have the same priority as the FPHA gave to those who rented.

But several days later Culp came back. "The only thing I accomplished was to see a good ball game. . . ." Why? Too much red tape. Too much fear that a change in priorities now would upset the whole housing applecart.

They had general meetings to discuss everything. They didn't want Veterans Heights to look like a row of corn. They wanted a choice of floor plans and elevations as well as freedom to make the house brick or concrete or frame. How about curved roads?

There was also the prolonged discussion on whether they should remain as part of the county or petition to be included in the city.

"How about the sewage and fire protection?"

"If we stick with the county, our taxes are lower."

PLANNING THEIR NEW LIVES

"The woodwork is going to be light cream," said Mrs. James Croft on Lot 9. "And the kitchen will be two-tone. We've even started shopping."

"Yeah, we bought a bedroom set." They smiled.

Everything was all planned, they said. They even knew exactly where the end tables and lamps would be.

"The way we're talking, I guess people will think we're moving right in. Of course, it'll be months yet. But they are starting to dig our foundation tomorrow. I guess nobody can really blame us for being a little excited. We never had a home of our own before."

On Lot 89, Rodney Day still couldn't get over the fact that he had paid $800 for a two-piece living-room set. "But I was lucky. I was a captain. I could save some money. And I've got a pretty good job."

He knew many men who weren't so lucky. Some had to drop out because they couldn't raise the $6,000 or $8,000, or because they needed the money to go into business, or because another baby was on the way.

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"You ought to see the letters we've received from veterans all over the country," said solemn-speaking Keith Webb on Lot 68. As secretary of the corporation, Keith had to write to inquiring vets in Texas, Maryland, California and parts in between, telling them how they could do the same thing.

"We also get these heart-breaking letters from some who want to join us. But we can't take any more. All we can do is put them on a list in case somebody drops out. We've got a long list."

They hadn't bought any furniture yet. They were waiting for prices to go down a little.

"Besides, we do have a few things of our own," answered Keith.

His wife laughed, "Sure, a radio and a card table. . . ."

Somebody yelled "Hiya, neighbor!" across the way and they got together to talk. Eldon and Betty Southam on Lot 7 looked a little envious when Roy Austin on Number 2 proudly described how they were already pouring concrete into his basement. They talked about electric outlets, different shades of brick, making a box for the milk, building garages and whether to grow strawberries or raspberries.

They mentioned how ecstatic the Milzareks were on Lot 1. They were the ones who had lived in a tent on an empty lot when they couldn't find an apartment. And what about the good news of the arrival of 70,000 feet of lumber, enough for ten homes. Everybody said they'd have 30 roofs up by Christmas, didn't they?

"We hope," added Eldon. "We fondly, fervently hope."

At the subdivision the next morning, building supervisor Hamer Culp tried to smile when he talked about the women with their single-spaced typewritten sheets of questions and suggestions.

What got him, though, were the telephone calls in the middle of the night to tell him that they decided to move the chimney or put in another door somewhere or make a window larger.

"I know it's their first house," moaned Hamer, "but oh my God. . . ."

Controls Are Finished

PRICE AND WAGE CONTROLS are gone. Along with the controls on thousands of minor products, the President last week wiped out ceilings on building materials, clothing, furniture, automobiles and the major consumer durables, such as refrigerators and industrial materials.

Paul Porter, OPA head, and Wilson Wyatt, housing expediter, had hoped to hold controls on building materials and the small list of other products important in the cost of living until supply came closer to meeting demand.

But the fight quickly became hopeless. Several weeks ago, Porter saw that so much ground had been cut out from under the OPA that there was no chance of beating off the pressure that any industry still under controls would apply.

Wyatt, however, fought until the end. He pleaded that the removal of ceilings on building materials would make it impossible to maintain the present $10,000 top on houses for veterans. Prices already are too high for the majority.

The President argued that if he kept controls on building materials and lifted them on everything else, the raw materials would be driven away from housing. Truman acknowledged that his action would necessitate a "change of approach" to the housing program.

Although the lid is now off prices on new homes, the President said that he will retreat only a little way on rent. Ceilings are to be kept, though "it may be some adjustment will be required." Such an adjustment would mean simply a 10, 15 or perhaps 20-percent increase in rents.

The President gave three reasons for his decision. The fourth reason, which he did not mention, was that if he did not do the hatchet job, the Republicans would as soon as Congress meets. In the meantime few controlled goods would have been marketed, and by January the Republicans might have looked like saviors of the people.

The President's reasons revealed much about both the combined palsy and courage with which he handled price control, and the industrywide rebellion with which he had to cope.

He stated that the withholding of goods was becoming so serious as to threaten key segments of the economy with paralysis. But as in the meat crisis, he raised the alarm only after the holdup was all over, and the holdup men were in full possession of the swag.

The scrapping of the all but moribund wage controls was a necessary corollary. These held down wages only when an industry used a wage increase as a basis for asking an increase in its ceiling prices. With ceiling prices out of existence, nothing was left. Free collective bargaining will mean that the government will no longer say no to any wage increase labor is able to obtain. It also means that wage increases won after long and costly strikes will be wiped out at once by higher prices.

In all probability, the return to the free market and free collective bargaining finally will mean a final shot of inflation, and then collapse.

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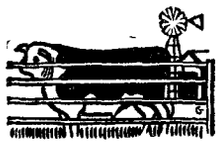

Letter from Denmark—Poverty and Plenty

PRACTICALLY any newspaper you pick up in Copenhagen today will carry a large advertisement running something like this: "Why import bicycles from England when we can make them cheaper ourselves? Every bicycle imported costs 25 kronor (about $5) and 39 kilograms (about 70 pounds) of butter more than it would cost to make it here!" These ads, paid for by a group of hard-headed businessmen, are symptoms of a deep anger which is spreading rapidly, an anger directed, not only at the government, but mainly at Denmark's best friend, Great Britain.

Last winter when I visited Copenhagen and Bornholm, Danes were quick to admit their luck in emerging from the war with hardly a scar of battle, with most of their industrial machinery intact and with their biggest export commodity—Danish bacon and eggs—the most sought-after item in Europe. Today they look with bewilderment at the impoverishment of their country during a period when at least partial prosperity should have come begging. Most competent observers—including some government officials—blame two factors: one, the too hasty lifting of import and export controls last year, and the other, Britain's dominance over their economy.

Chronologically, lifting of controls was the first error. Right after liberation, the conservative Farmers' Party made a bid to business with a policy of laissez-faire. Import and export licenses were handed out freely, particularly where imports from England were concerned, since that country was the biggest buyer of Danish farm goods. Results were nearly disastrous. For example, a few weeks ago a Danish ship sailed for England loaded to the gunwales with rich Danish butter, bacon and other farm products. It brought back about 40 tons of roller skates. Newspapers are still running cartoons of government members roller-skating to cabinet meetings. Canaries were flown in by plane from Africa. Shaving brushes arrived by the shipload from England and sold at the equivalent of more than $10 apiece. Almonds were brought in—more in one month than Denmark had imported in five prewar years. Recently England sent Denmark several million kronors' worth of desperately needed textiles, all represented and sold as of prewar quality. Danes claim that it was indeed prewar—the first war. The British finally agreed to reduce the price by 10 percent, but it is still argued in Copenhagen that only about 25 percent of the material was usable. And when Denmark bought English coal and coke, as she always had, for her important craft industries, much of it turned out to be worthless.

The greatest resentment, however, is concentrated on the strange price arrangement made with England. Some explain it by the old business adage that "it's the last 10 percent that makes the price." In any case, Great Britain was able to put that theory to work with good effect last summer when she signed an agreement under which Denmark committed 85 percent of her agricultural products to England. It was a seller's market, of course, especially in these products, and yet it was not Denmark but Britain that dictated the prices. "No one seems to understand how we accepted the terms, but we did," a newspaperman said. "Now Denmark's prices on what she sells to England are low according to a fixed formula, but England's prices on what she sells to us are not fixed and are rising." Apparently, England's position was so strong that the Danish government not only agreed to the prices offered but even decided to pay the Danish farmer a $40-million subsidy to make up the difference between what he felt he should get and what England was willing to pay. The president of the Danish Agricultural Council complains: "The Danish farmers are today in the strange situation of producing foodstuffs which nearly all the world lacks at prices which hardly guarantee any return and with prospects of still worse conditions to come."

Politics v. Economics

British influence prods Denmark from many sides. For one thing, there is the debt. Immediately after liberation, England owed Denmark about $80 million. This has since been reversed, so that today Denmark owes that amount to England and the debt is growing at the rate of nearly $20 million a month. Yet the items that Denmark needs most—the grains and fodder to nourish her dairy cattle—do not come from the United Kingdom at all. Still, even here the British have been resourceful. Last year, when the Danes hoped to get their farm production going full swing, they suddenly discovered that linseed, corn and other such necessities were unavailable. The Combined Food Board in Washington had learned too late that there was not enough to go around. Then Argentina offered her fodder, but at high prices and for dollars. England was able to step in and buy for Denmark. Finally, of course, there is the simple fact that England has been and will continue to be Denmark's biggest customer.

Naturally, there is a great deal of talk in Denmark about finding new customers who will pay high prices. Many point to Russia, which pays $1.20 a kilogram for butter while England pays only 96 cents. Russia has indicated clearly that she would like to increase her present purchases greatly and that she would be willing to pay either in products or in gold. Nevertheless, government officials shy away from trade with the East on the theory that no one knows how permanent a market Russia would be. Another and more potent reason for this coolness is politics. "After all," said one man, "we are tied to Britain by more than economics. And remember that it was England who liberated us last time."

To solve their dilemma, the Danes are planning to try to break its horns off altogether. A delegation will go to London soon to see if it is possible to force a revision of the unfortunate price schedule. And at home there will be new restrictions on imports and a cut in rations to reduce the debt. It is even possible that Danish butter will disappear for a time from Danish tables.

Copenhagen SIDNEY SULKIN

UNAUTHORIZED DUPLICATION
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Radio: What's Your Hooper?

A COMEDIAN on the air signed off recently with the rueful remark that the program now owed Hooper three points. Radio audiences have long been conscious of the Crossley and Hooper ratings of their favorites, yet most people, while they know that programs and artists are bought and sold according to their audience ratings, do not understand how ratings are made.

When broadcasting was in its diapers, a station in Newbury, New York—WKBM—was set up by a trio of traveling salesmen who decided radio might be fun, wrote to Washington and received their license to operate by mail. The station went on and off the air according to the number of advertisers, the state of the announcer's appetite or just how he was feeling in general. One night the staff decided to throw a party. The most convenient place turned out to be the hotel-room studio, and when the party was rolling along in high, somebody turned on the transmitter and put the whole thing on the air. Phone calls began to come in from listeners asking if anybody minded if they dropped over. Thus audience rating came spontaneously.

In 1931 the Coöperative Analysis of Broadcasting was formed to determine how many people actually listened to radio programs. It hired Archibald Crossley to do the field work, and operated by placing phone calls every four hours to ask listeners whether their radio had been in use over that period and what programs they had heard. In 1938, C. E. Hooper came along and suggested that this procedure be modified because people couldn't remember what they had heard four hours before. His researchers phoned continuously and asked, "What program are you listening to *now*?"

In 1941, Dr. Sidney Roslow charged onto the scene, pointing out that only 47 percent of the people in the USA had telephones. Who was going to rate the other 53 percent, primarily the lower-income groups? So he listed all the programs on a sheet, divided his sample into homes with telephones and those without, and sent his researchers to ask people to check off what they had heard. This system—"The Pulse"—has offices in New York and Philadelphia and will soon extend to Chicago and Boston.

The most recent rating system was developed by A. C. Nielsen. His staff invented a tiny machine called the audimeter, which is placed in the radios of selected homes. This gadget registers every move of the listener: when he turns his radio on, how long he listens, where he switches. In the New York-Philadelphia area Nielsen measures ratings on the basis of 300 audimeters. Hooper makes nine million phone calls a year in 71 cities and Pulse arranges 8,400 interviews each month for New York City.

Hooper also performs another valuable service. It seems that many people listen to the radio and don't know who they're hearing. Jack Benny in one survey demonstrated that 99.2 percent knew who he was, while the program that followed, Cass Daley, had the alarming figure of 76 percent who didn't know who was performing. They were just waiting for Edgar Bergen. TED COTT

Twisted Terry

DEALING with those two side-show delights—murder and mental quirks and jerks—that Hollywood authors imply are as wedded as the Gold Dust Twins, a brisk thriller called "The Dark Mirror" is clinically alert to the differences between a normal and a twisted twin (Olivia de Havilland playing a double-header). It opens on a familiar scene—a plushy suite, a mirror busted, the curtains billowing, some champagne cooling, a clock showing a time to remember, and the boss sprawled on an ankle-deep rug with a theatrical dagger in his back. Operating at a terrific clip, a flat-foot lieutenant (Thomas Mitchell) finds the murderess is one of identical twins, neither of whom will talk against the other. The sisters are weighted with jewelry spelling out their names, but they are clearly distinguishable without the credits on their chests—Terry is sleek, dynamic, always figuring the angles as though she had grown up on the floor of the Stock Exchange; Ruth is Olivia de Havilland. After the coppers flunk the case, an expensively hatted pencil, a twin expert (Lew Ayres), solves the case by throwing a battery of psychology tests at the unaccountably permissive girls.

"The Dark Mirror," in an unsentimental, unpretentious way, is a carefully penetrating portrayal of the paranoid twin, her dominated, subdued, non-psychotic sister, and the psychology prof who projects so effectively an all-knowing air carefully held in restraint. Through most of the film, the paranoid doesn't seem psychotic, and is clearly recognizable as an imperious, restless, unfeminine careerist who appears put together like a jet plane and seems constantly involved in a battle of wits with a threatening world. While the oppressed sister carries her heart on her sleeve, Terry's affection is always mingled with hostility, her conscience is stunted, she's grandiose, and seemingly content in her isolation. There is an additional interesting projection of the characters of the three people in their kissing. They are all sort of stodgy and respectable, but there are wonderfully subtle differences. The Man in the Adam Hat busses with a custom-built precision and tons of dignity, Terry challengingly and with little if any effect, and with Ruth each kiss is a new revelation.

The crisis takes place during the scientific screening of the ink-blot test. You are prepared so thoroughly by the prof about the blots, and given such a clear shot of them, that you can have a go at them yourself if you're feeling a little nervous and rundown. Focusing the movie around these tests makes the film's scope somewhat restricted and not quite enough for a feature-length job.

While the acting is adroit and more than adequate, the only endearing performance—the one ray of warmth—is Mitchell's enthusiastic job as the lieutenant, which is a welcome note in the otherwise rather antiseptic atmosphere. It's heartwarming to find such benevolence, dignity and contemplative intelligence on the force. Mitchell also employs a sly wit to good advantage. MANNY FARBER

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Return to Comedy

Happy Birthday, by Anita Loos. Broadhurst Theatre, November 1, 1946.

HELEN HAYES got plenty of laurels for her performances in the serious historical roles of Victoria and Harriet Beecher Stowe, but nobody was sorry to hear that she was bringing her talents back to the service of comedy. Long ago she made herself mistress of many elements in the technique of comedy acting, and she assembles them all in this latest role. There will certainly be many differences of opinion about this occasion, but to judge from reports it is already a smash hit.

The story of "Happy Birthday" is that of a kind of Newark Cinderella who falls under the spell of a cocktail bar and passes through whimsies and fantasies and defiances that win her Prince for her, then lose him, then get him back again for the very last curtain. It is clear that the demands for the writing of so light a fabric are heavy, and it must be confessed that in spite of pleasant moments and moments made delightful by Miss Hayes, "Happy Birthday" moves rather heavily. The machinery of it is driven hard, the fantasy is often mechanically contrived. Anita Loos, whose "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" left her practically an immortal in the theatre as well as in writing generally, has taken pains here to build this play and whip it up until no chances are taken, no light touch admitted or risked. Joshua Logan's directing is equally determined to take no chances with the elusive or make-believe.

The result is that the evening is pretty much all Miss Hayes's. She romps, sings, wilts, dances, flirts and creates a genuine, full-blown binge of the most fruitful sort. But even Miss Hayes drives the role a bit too hard. With her remarkable stage astuteness she will doubtless soon acquire a more shining, simpler blend of its crowding, often forced, elements.

Jo Mielziner's décor is full of glow, cleverness and variety. Lucinda Ballard's costumes are capital.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

Mr. H. Holt, president of Kiwanis International, spoke on the inter-relationship of peace, unity and opportunity as they affect the world. The only hope for lasting peace is to imbue the people with the spirit of Christ, until they use force to regulate the people who understand only force. – *From the Sydney* (*Montana*) Herald.

"We can converse freely as friends. We find that we like to talk to each other. . . . The fact is that we are able to live together and work together as good friends, and it causes me, as I have witnessed the good fellowship existing here and at other international gatherings, to express the view that as long as we can live and work together as friends, there isn't any reason on earth why the governments we represent cannot live and work together as friends." – *James F. Byrnes, speaking at a luncheon for the delegates to the United Nations at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on October 23, 1946, as quoted in a press release from the United States delegation.*

The Russians were very much to themselves on their return to the Assembly after Tuesday night. Only a few delegates talked to them at all. No Americans or British approached them. – *Front-page story in the New York* Herald Tribune, *October 31, 1946.*

Watch Your Elbows, Kids!

In 1912 he [Baron de Walden] married Miss Margherita van Raalte, daughter of Charles van Raalte, London banker, who died in 1908. In 1928 they organized their six children as a string quartet. —*From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Separately?

For sale, red raspberries and worms. – *From an ad in the Chicago* Tribune.

Department of Double Talk

A good start on the job [of winning a better public understanding and support of industry] could be made by three changes in ordinary financial terminology, as follows:

1. Instead of saying *Profit* and *Loss Account*, say *Income Account.*
2. Instead of saying *profits*, say *income* or *earnings.*
3. Instead of saying *added to surplus*, say *reinvested in the business.*

If you can do just these three things, it will make the job of public-relations men, who are trying to interpret American industry factually to the American people, a great deal easier and more effective than it is today. – *From the* Management Review.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Welcome to Wallace

[BY TELEGRAM]

SIR: Congratulations to America on the opportunity for a great liberal to lead our thinking from the vantage point of the *New Republic*. Henry Wallace stands for a new democratic world of rights and opportunities and full participation for all the people. I do not always agree with him, but I am always stirred by his clarion calls. All progressives recognize in him a great crusader for a better America and a better world.

EDWIN R. EMBREE, President,
Chicago, Ill. Julius Rosenwald Fund

SIR: As a subscriber of the *New Republic* almost from the beginning, I consider your naming of Henry Wallace to the editorship one of your happiest acts. Free speech, free thinking and the clarification of all of our ideas are bound to result from this new partnership. Even those of us who disagree with portions of Henry Wallace's thinking nevertheless combine in regarding him as a great American and a great world leader.

New York City DOROTHY KENYON

SIR: Henry Wallace's resignation from the cabinet has pointed up the failure of our political system to provide an official forum for an informed opposition. The critical nature of world affairs,

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America's position as the headspring of international policy and the fallibility of human beings even when they are statesmen, all accentuate the need for free, full, bilateral debate on current crucial issues. Wallace's assumption of *New Republic* editorship has now supplied that forum and I congratulate you on an important event.

New York City CHARLES ABRAMS

SIR: Regret unavoidable delay in congratulating Mr. Wallace on accepting the editorship of the *New Republic*. No one else in the nation can render a service equal to his at the present time.

New Haven, Conn. FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL

SIR: Close coöperation of Henry Wallace and the *New Republic* strengthens the forces working for peace and new creative order. Best wishes to a great team.

Winchester, Mass. PITIRIM SOROKIN

SIR: Henry Wallace's acceptance of the editorship of the *New Republic* is a stroke of good fortune for the American people. With greater freedom and greater frequency he can express his distinguished insights into domestic and foreign policy. He can help steer the vanguard of progressives over the troubled roads ahead, keeping them sensitive to the needs of the common man while instructing them in the practical requirements of strategy. Best wishes for his success and personal satisfaction in the editorship.

Cambridge, Mass. GORDON W. ALLPORT

SIR: I am delighted that Henry Wallace has assumed the editorship of your vital magazine. His views are stimulating, his conclusions based on long experience in public life and a broad and intelligent diagnosis of internal and international problems. His forceful leadership is essential in these troubled days. His presence on your staff and his editorials and comments should bring into the open the most controversial issues and furnish full opportunity to weigh all sides. . . .

New York City STANLEY M. ISAACS

SIR: Warmest congratulations on the acquisition of Henry Wallace as editor of the *New Republic*. We need his leadership in this period of extreme crisis and he needs the unrestricted freedom of expression which the *New Republic* traditionally supplies. The combination can be irresistible provided we bystanders who will profit most are alert enough to enlarge and amplify what we are given and increase this power a thousandfold. Henry Wallace and the *New Republic* begin the job and we must conclude it.

Sharon, Conn. HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER

SIR: Please allow me to congratulate you on the accession of Henry Wallace to the editorship of the *New Republic*. The progressive cause will be greatly served by this union.

Washington, D. C. MORDECAI W. JOHNSON

SIR: Congratulations to both your publication and Henry A. Wallace on his appointment as editor of the *New Republic*. The stagnant atmosphere created by the reactionary press of the nation, daily and weekly, will be beneficially cleared in some measure of advantage by the consolidation of your labors.

VAL H. COWLES, Executive Secretary,
Salt Lake City, Utah Democratic State Central Committee

SIR: Warmest greetings to my friend Henry Wallace as he takes over the editorship of your fearless progressive magazine. No man in our generation voices more sincerely and earnestly the deepest aspirations of untold millions of men and women throughout the world for security from war and for social justice with equality of economic opportunity. All men of good will wish him well.

New York City HENRY A. ATKINSON

SIR: In sending in my subscription for your magazine, herein enclosed, I wish to commend you for making Henry A. Wallace one of your regular editors. In a situation where we find our foreign policy increasingly being formulated and carried through by representatives of this nation's military arms, it is very important that Mr. Wallace's sound analysis of the situation receive the widest distribution possible.

W. B. SPOFFORD JR., Executive Secretary,
New York City Church League for Industrial Democracy

SIR: My greetings and best wishes to Mr. Wallace as he takes over the editorship of the *New Republic*. Although I cannot always agree with what he says, I believe in the fundamental American principle of free speech and frank discussion. May the pages of the *New Republic* under his editorship report and interpret without bias all that is important in our national life, reflecting that great kaleidoscope of opinion and conviction which is characteristic of this nation of many races, beliefs and creeds. He has accepted a challenging position. Success to him and the *New Republic*.

New York City GEORGE J. HECHT

SIR: Please accept the warm greetings of our organization on the occasion of Wallace assuming editorship of the *New Republic* magazine. In common with millions of our fellow Americans, we applaud and support your courageous and honest stand in behalf of peace and progress. Your great contribution to the cause of peace has earned you the gratitude of workingmen and women everywhere who are already encouraged by the fruits of your efforts. However, we realize with you that continued vigilance and perseverance are required before our country is firmly established on the Roosevelt path of friendly Big Three coöperation leading to a peaceful and democratic settlement of postwar problems. The fate of vast millions of common people throughout the world depends upon the outcome of the struggle against those who, for imperialistic advantage, seek to foment political and economic warfare upon liberated peoples and rob them of the fruits of victory. We offer you our continued and active support in the struggle to achieve for the people of our country and of the world the democratic peace and economic betterment for which we fought such a costly war.

JOSEPH P. SELLY, President,
New York City American Communications Association, CIO.

Alaska Provides for Veterans

SIR: In your August 26 issue which has just reached here, apparently delayed by the steamship tie-up, I find in the excellent two-page summary entitled "Facts About Veterans" reference to state legislation in which you mention that six states have so far made provisions for bonuses. You may be interested to know that at a special session of the Legislature, which I called for the purpose last spring, the Territory of Alaska adopted what I believe to be the most generous and far-sighted veterans' legislation yet adopted by any state or territory. It provides for loans or bonuses for Alaskan veterans: a bonus of $10 a month for every month in the service and loans up to $10,000 for acquiring a home or farm, going into business or for continuing their education, etc. The Legislature adjourned on April 2. The Veterans' Administration was set up in May. To date it has made 168 loans totaling one million dollars.

This legislation was necessary because at the time it was passed no Alaskan veteran had been able to obtain loans through the Federal Veterans' Administration, and the prevailing interest rate in Alaska, until the establishment of the Veterans' Act, was eight percent, a prohibitive rate. The Territorial Veterans' Act established the rate for its loans at four percent.

Juneau, Alaska ERNEST GRUENING, Governor

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Books in Review

What Became of the Literary Radicals?

To those of us who were in college during the First World War, the times seemed to be in a strange intellectual and literary ferment. Perhaps this is the normal experience of college, or of war; but if so, the absence of any such spirit among the young men of the Second World War is cause for comment. History is not repeating the pattern of a John Dos Passos in a John Hersey, nor of a Carl Sandburg in a Kenneth Fearing. These new young men seem wise before their time. If they protest, it is not against the sterile conservatism but against the callow childishness of their elders. For them there is no adolescent phase of storm and stress; they seem mature at birth.

By contrast, their elders were, and still are, young men, even at sixty or seventy. The generation that found its spokesmen in such literary radicals as Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks and H. L. Mencken, that marked its greatest triumph when Stuart Sherman deserted the ranks of the humanists to join the defenders of Dreiser, that argued the relationship of literature to life with the intensity of a debate on the atomic bomb—that generation is past. But those were not just any young men. They were —as they realized at the time—the heralds of a literary movement reaching maturity but not quite mature. There was, as Brooks said in 1915, "a nervous and acutely self-critical vitality" at work in those days, destroying the traditional concepts of American literature and culture and preparing for new creative efforts. His little book *America's Coming of Age* was a declaration of literary independence as historically significant for its day as was Emerson's *American Scholar* for the earlier renaissance. But this time American literature must tear itself free, not only from European, but from native-grown cultural conventions. If we today would understand the spirit of ripe age in our own young men, we should reëxamine the spirit of raw youth in their elders. The revolt of the literary radicals, beginning about 1910 and extending, in its phase of protest, to about 1925, is a crucial chapter in our cultural history. What did these perennial adolescents revolt against? What did they call for? Did their revolt peter out or did it succeed? Where are the survivors today?

At the time their challenge was thrown out, it sounded both new and startling, but it was neither. Behind it lay what Mencken called "the literary movement of the nineties"; before it lay the task of revising critical judgment of our cultural past so that living writers might honestly express what they lived.

Certainly there were many conventions that needed to be destroyed. The impasse which American literature had reached by 1910 is perhaps best illustrated in the confusion of William Dean Howells, the critical spokesman for the transition period between the time of Emerson and Longfellow and that of Dreiser and T. S. Eliot. Recognizing the force of the realistic movement which was sweeping through European literatures, he could never quite accept its full implications. In the last years of the old century, Howells welcomed the vitality of Stephen Crane's *Maggie* and Frank Norris' *McTeague*, but in his own work he made the mistake of assuming that American prosperity was American actuality. As a critic, he opened doors through which neither he himself nor any of his contemporaries could pass. The new movement lapsed because the American tradition, vital in its day, had become codified and restrictive and entrenched; the new forces in American life could not break through it. Young and fearless critics were needed—and they appeared.

Two of the most promising of the literary radicals of those war years, Randolph Bourne and Stuart Sherman, died before the phase of attack was over. Few people today even remember Bourne, the most nervous and self-critical of the group—its first leader and soon its anointed saint. For Bourne died early with a curse on his lips for the idealists who, under the guidance of Woodrow Wilson, had, he thought, led his country into what seemed to him a war for wealth and power. And those who remember Sherman think of him, not as a literary radical at all, but as a conservative who went over to the enemy—a kind of Benedict Arnold in reverse. But Sherman's discipleship to the humanists Babbitt and More was but a phase of his search for new ways of thinking. Always a literary radical at heart, he was fighting, as was Bourne, throughout his life for a reëvaluation of values, and his move to a New York newspaper, where he was in the thick of the fight, was the most honest thing he ever did.

What these two might have accomplished had they survived the turbulent twenties and thirties may only be conjectured. What other literary radicals, who did survive, contributed to a revitalized interpretation of the American cultural past is a matter of record. Take Waldo Frank and Lewis Mumford for example. In South America they ask today, "Have you any other writers of importance except Waldo Frank in North America?" And Lewis Mumford was but recently called to Europe to help plan the rebuilding of destroyed cities. No longer thought of in their own land as critics of literature, these two men have been acclaimed abroad as ambassadors of American culture. Yet it seems only yesterday that Frank's *Our America* (1919) and Mumford's *Golden Day* (1926) were twisting the crystal through which we view our cultural past and helping us to see Melville and Whitman in the high places formerly reserved for Longfellow and Lowell. In the thirties Frank was in Latin America and Spain and Russia, writing books about their civilizations, and Mumford was at home studying the technics of civilization. Each had chosen a specialty and each had developed an almost fanatic faith in his own solution to the riddle of

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contemporary civilization. Now builders rather than destroyers, they were little discussed in literary circles during those depression years.

There are two other literary radicals who have followed similar courses, but whose places in literary history are more secure because their devotion to literature has continued closer. H. L. Mencken has spent his later years in the exploration of the American language, and Van Wyck Brooks that of American cultural history. Like Frank and Mumford, they have both turned from the attack to the defense. Like them, they have specialized their interests and have developed their respective missions. Mencken in his study in Baltimore and Brooks in his country home in Connecticut have both for some years been in virtual retirement from the literary forum. They have been working at their elected tasks and hoping for enough time to complete them.

THE RECENT APPEARANCE of *"Supplement One,"* a volume as substantial as the final edition of *The American Language* (1936) upon which it is hung, is testimony that Mencken's work is not yet done. That book was a beginning and not an end. Letters pour in daily to the Hollins Street address, and the files grow until a periodic inventory becomes necessary. We may expect more supplements, all of them the best of reading for their excursions into the dark corners and sharp angles of human thought; but the master-work itself is definitive in its way. Mencken has demonstrated that change is an essential element in a living language and should be encouraged rather than restrained. He has also demonstrated that language is an excellent index to the inner life of a people by rewriting the cultural history of America in the idiom of its popular expression. He has called for one more reconsideration of the American tradition—and he has supplied it.

One need not look far to discover the old fighting Mencken of the *Prejudices* in these flippant yet scholarly pages. For *The American Language* is its author's answer to his own challenge against complacency. Nor need one search the dusty and apparently dignified row of bound volumes of the old *American Mercury* to hear the wiry voice, to wince at shocking overstatement, to wriggle under digs at smugness and hypocrisy. The literary radical who attacked the Christian moral code in its latter-day stiff formulation and who fought government by the people in its leveling equalitarian phase is still in there, battling with the weapons of irony and shock. The only difference is that now his blows are hammered at a single cause instead of being scattered. Red in the face with rage and protest, the reader of *The American Language* lays down the book with the feeling that here is a new kind of linguistic and historical analysis—in itself almost as vital and organic a work of art as *Leaves of Grass*.

But the history of literary radicalism is even more fully illustrated by the career of Van Wyck Brooks. *The Flowering of New England* (1936) won the Pulitzer Prize, was a Book-of-the-Month selection and probably sold more copies than has any other critical work on a literary subject in recent years. The public liked it and read it, even though the academic historians and critics were nonplussed and angry. If a work of history, where were the footnotes and the quotation marks? If a work of fiction, where were the plot and the characters? Was imagination running away with scholarly accuracy? To Brooks, this was literary history and—become mild and conciliatory in these later years—he supplied footnotes with an overgenerous hand for the next of the series, *New England: Indian Summer* (1940), but he did not alter his method or his intentions. He had set out to answer his own early demand that the critics should supply modern American writers with a "usable past." This could only be accomplished by recreating the American esthetic tradition in a living panorama drawn from letters and journals, newspapers and playbills, novels and poems, paintings and music. Other books were to supplement these two and recount the history of American creative activity—mainly literary—from the days of Washington Irving to those of Van Wyck Brooks and from the Boston of Lowell to the New Orleans of Cable and the California of Mark Twain. American culture was to be reoriented in both time and place. This was the plan; its successful execution will depend upon how far the imaginative vision of a creative writer saturated in one part of his subject can be stretched to all parts of it. Scholarship that depends upon creative imagination as one of its accepted tools may be sound scholarship, but only within the limits of the imaginative vision of the scholar. Let us not ask for too much.

These later books of Van Wyck Brooks are not literary history in the usual sense; nor are they social or cultural history as most other historians write it. The nearest approach to a description might be to call them the history of taste, but their eclectic quality and their long passages of literary criticism makes even this definition incomplete. For Brooks, the writer is always more interesting than the thing written; the general esthetic environment more interesting than the individual writer. The one safe thing to say about these books is that they make important reading. They tell us things about our past that we should know and that could not be told in any other way so successfully.

Brooks's method is a direct response to his life's mission: to challenge the assumptions about the American tradition which had dominated our literature since its first "renaissance" in the days of Emerson and Lowell, and which by 1890 had seemed sterile and static; and then to reexamine our literary past in the context of the life out of which it had been created. This mission proceeded through three phases: an attack on accepted assumptions, a period of silence, an effort at reinterpretation. Here was literary radicalism passing through a cycle from destruction to construction, from attack to defense. Like Frank and Mumford and Mencken, Brooks has elected his mission and has specialized with the zeal of a convert.

HOW THEN to evaluate the work of the literary radicals, to chart the course and to define the scope of the movement? If these four survivors may be taken as representative, their careers describe a cultural cycle. In the first place, they inherited the "literary movement of the nineties" rather than invented anything of their own. The emotional discovery of America—to use Sherman's phrase—had been slow in becoming articulate because, before 1910, its direction was uncertain and it was in conflict with too

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great an inertia of vested assumptions. But the literary radicals gave it voice and for ten years or more their protests against complaisance and gentility seemed to be heard. In the teetering years between 1925 and 1933, they were quietly shifting from attack to defense while others fled. When "exiles" like MacLeish and Cowley and Hemingway began to return to a depression-ridden land, the full force of the movement was already being felt in renewed literary creation. The plays and poems and novels that appeared in such numbers during the thirties were grim rather than confident, but, because the old conventions had been so far weakened, they could be honest and they were strong.

Meanwhile, the survivors among the literary radicals, now no longer young in years, had each turned to his elected and ambitious task in the recreation of the American cultural tradition. Each made his distinctive contribution to the discovery of a past usable in the present. Rejected in their turn by the sage and disillusioned young men of the new generation, they cultivated their respective gardens.

That the literary radicals did not answer the questions they raised is matter of no moment; that their enthusiasms seem today a trifle callow is not important. They and their successors laid foundations for an indigenous culture in the excavations that they dug, and they were as much surprised as anyone at the buildings that were later erected. If American literature today is a dominant world literature —and there is every reason to believe that it is—these young men of the past must take no small share of the credit.

ROBERT E. SPILLER

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DOUBLEDAY

Light on China

Thunder Out of China, by Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby. New York: William Sloane Associates. 331 pages. $3.

FIFTEEN MONTHS have passed since the Japanese surrender, but China is still not at peace. As the area of civil war grows, the issues involved become more and more international in scope, affecting Chinese attitudes toward the United States and relations between Washington and Moscow. Under the circumstances the widest American discussion of China policy is necessary for the sake of our own peace and well-being.

Thunder Out of China is the kind of book likely to stimulate such discussion. Written by two able correspondents, Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, both formerly of *Time* magazine's Chungking bureau, it strikes out vigorously at the problems of present-day China and their implications for the United States. The authors see Asia—and especially China, its most explosive section—as an arena of revolution in which more than a billion people "are tired of the world as it is." These people, they argue, desperately desire a better life, free from bondage to landlords, usurers, oppressive tax collectors and corrupt officials.

The main issue for the United States is stated simply: whether to back the past or the future, whether to support "the decadent and corrupt" or the popular forces that are working against the Orient's decaying institutions. White and Mrs. Jacoby warn the reader that "Asia today regards America as the last great bastion of reaction, a nation that speaks of freedom but in the ultimate analysis always aligns itself on the side of the status quo." And fearing the dissipation of America's power for peace, they plead that "even for the most conservative of Americans a conservative foreign policy is unrealistic; as between stability and change, change must win."

These ideas are not new, but they are stated here with great cogency and sustained effectively with facts. For the bulk of the volume is a rapidly moving discussion of life in wartime China, the relative merits of Chiang Kai-shek's government and the Chinese Communists, the role of American and Soviet policy in China's recent development, and the course of events since the Japanese surrender. Although some passages are over-rhetorical and exception might be taken to occasional points, the writing as a whole is graphic and colorful, and the analysis penetrating. Several chapters—for example, the opening section on wartime Chungking and the description of the Honan famine—are impressive for evoking a mood and making a point.

The degradation of the Chinese peasant is pictured starkly and with feeling, but the authors are not cynical about the Chinese people. Their theme is one of economic and political misrule by the Central Government, in which the good intentions of individual leaders and the occasional good effects of individual policies are submerged in a sea of reaction. There is praise here for Wong Wen-hao, Sun Fo and other officials, but the characterization of Chiang Kai-shek is biting: "Any concept of China that differed from his own was treated with as much hostility as an enemy division." Similarly, the tendencies toward decent government within the official political party, the Kuo-

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mintang, are assessed, but the party as a whole is attacked for corruption and oppression.

The growth of the Chinese Communists from an army of 85,000 and a population of 1,500,000 in 1937 to more than a million troops and an estimated 90 million people in 1945 is traced to the Communists' dependence on the people. The authors do not wish to see a Communist China, and they express certain reservations about the future course Yenan may take. But they are deeply impressed by the leadership and policies of the Communists, whom they regard as an important, legitimate element in any multi-party government that might be formed if civil war can be halted. The book explains the success of the Communists in these words: "If you take a peasant who has been swindled, beaten and kicked about . . . treat him like a man, ask his opinion, let him vote for a local government, let him organize his own police and gendarmes, decide on his own taxes, and vote himself a reduction in rent and interest—if you do all that, the peasant becomes a man who has something to fight for, and he will fight to preserve it against any enemy, Japanese or Chinese."

The Stilwell crisis is discussed here in greater detail than it has been elsewhere, as is the Hurley ambassadorship, which produced a policy of outright American support of the Kuomintang right wing. Although this policy has undergone modifications, it is in the main being followed at the present time, and the authors consider a change essential. Seeking maximum encouragement of China's progressive middle groups—neither Kuomintang nor Communist—they propose, in a vigorous final chapter, the end of our one-sided intervention, full support for the formation of a Chinese multi-party government willing to carry out reform, a thorough-going effort to reach an agreement with Russia on Chinese issues and unstinted American economic assistance to a Chinese coalition regime when it appears. They offer no guarantees for the future, but they want their country to be on the side of progress in the Far East. They have made a powerful contribution in this direction.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

Frances Perkins' FDR

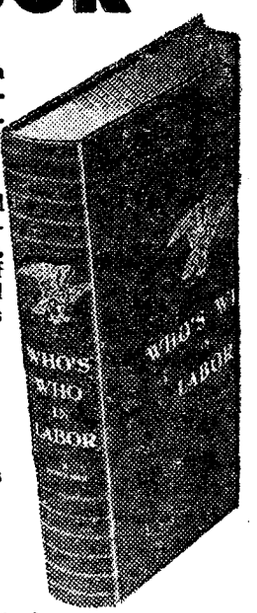
The Roosevelt I Knew, by Frances Perkins. New York: The Viking Press. 408 pages. $3.75.

ONE AFTERNOON in 1910, Mrs. Walton Brown gave a tea dance at her house in Gramercy Park, New York, for a few serious-minded young people interested in social issues. Between dances, one of the guests, a social worker named Frances Perkins, ran into a tall, thin young man with a high collar and pince-nez, whose habit of throwing up his head struck her as a little on the haughty side. At first she did not catch his name, but later it turned out to be Franklin D. Roosevelt. It seems he had managed to get himself elected to the New York State Legislature.

In the middle of May, 1945, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor in the New Deal cabinet, went to the White House to try to make an appointment for a group of labor legislators. Her friend Franklin Roosevelt said he

WHO'S WHO IN LABOR

Edited by Marion Dickman and Ruth Taylor and a Board of Advisors representing A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.



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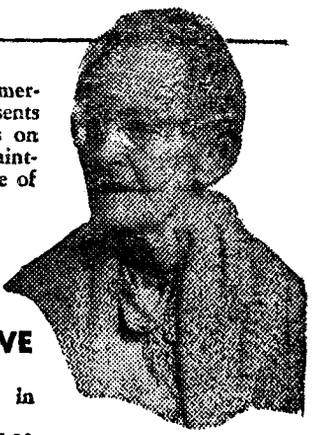

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was sorry. "I am going out to San Francisco to open the meeting, make my speech, and receive the delegates in a social and personal way," he explained. "Then," he whispered, "we are going to England. Eleanor and I are going to make a State visit." Madam Perkins was startled. "But the war!" Roosevelt put his hand to the side of his mouth and said: "The war in Europe will be over by the end of May." Two weeks later, the President was dead.

The story of the Roosevelt Frances Perkins knew in the span of 35 years between these two meetings is told affectionately and often excitingly in her book. In it, Miss Perkins does not set out to make any startling revelations on high policy. But by giving details of Roosevelt's spontaneous reactions to people and events she does something which is in a way more valuable: she gives ordinary people insight into the buoyant personality of a great man. She disclaims objectivity; she is frankly biased in his favor.

Yet she is not partisan enough to ignore his defects—"blind spots." For example, she says that he really never could project himself into the outlook of the business community in order to understand it better. He was not very familiar with economic theory. He took the industrialization of America for granted, but thought of wealth in terms of the basic wealth of agriculture, transportation and services, which were the familiar pattern of his youth. After John M. Keynes visited Roosevelt in 1934, he remarked cautiously that he had supposed that the President was more literate, economically speaking. And the President said, a little ruefully, of Keynes: "He left a whole rigmarole of figures. He must be a mathematical rather than a political economist."

But many of Roosevelt's weaknesses were also his strength. He was more concerned with people than systems. His basic values were "honorable," "decent," "fair." His physical handicaps made him yearn for direct contact with the people, rather than the vicarious sense of communication brought through those he used as eyes and ears. That was one of the reasons why he loved to campaign. He would come back and describe with great excitement people he had noticed in the crowds: a little child, an old man.

Once, when a brash young reporter asked him whether he was a communist, a capitalist or a socialist, he said he guessed he was a Christian democrat. "He had, I am sure, no thought or desire to impose any over-all economic or political change on the United States. Some of the high-strung people who advised him did . . . but he always laughed them off and used their brilliant analyses for some project that would do some immediate good to people in distress." For him, political and economic measures were not the end but the means. He never regarded steps like the NRA as anything but emergency measures. "The New Deal was not a plan," says Miss Perkins. "Most of the programs later called the New Deal arose out of the emergency which Roosevelt faced when he took office at the low point of the depression. . . . The intellectual and spiritual climate [of the New Deal] was Roosevelt's general attitude that the people mattered."

For a personalized story of how FDR *did* make the people count, this book is very well worth reading. T. W.

Advances in Surgery

The New Science of Surgery, by Frank G. Slaughter, M.D. New York: Julian Messner. 286 pages. $3.50.

THE TRUE SCIENTIST is essentially a radical. Refusing to be restrained by the viscosity of tradition, he devises experiments which are limited only by the boldness of his hypotheses, and he does not shrink from the implications of his discoveries. In his science, that is. For it is a common observation that in political and social matters the scientist, like the author of this book, may be brought to the edge of the water and then refuse to enter it.

The major portion of Dr. Slaughter's book is concerned with the application of the newer discoveries in physiology, biochemistry, pathology and bacteriology to the science of surgery. It reviews the use of penicillin, of the sulfa drugs, of the injectable anesthetics. It discusses surgical shock in relation to the newer knowledge of the circulation, crymotherapy and the therapeutic use of low temperatures in the surgery of the limbs. There are chapters on psychosurgery, the ablation of certain sections of the brain as therapy for some types of psychosis, and on psychosomatic medicine as it applies to diseases such as peptic ulcer and "colitis," which are occasionally the concern of the surgeon.

In the final chapters the author indicates that modern surgical and medical care are now beyond the financial capacity of many. He realizes, too, largely through his experiences in the Army, that the application of preventive medicine is impeded by our present system of medical practice. Though facing these facts, he seems to fear their implications, since he outlines a plan for group medical practice and health insurance which in medical terms is equivalent to treating a cancer with a poultice. Dividing the population into three income groups, he proposes that

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CONTENTS

Election Roundup 643
Washington Wire . . . . . T. R. B. 649
General Articles
Real Threat to Free Enterprise . . . . . Carroll Kilpatrick 650
Reading the Ads . . . Thomas Whiteside 651
British Labor and the Colonies . Rita Hinden 653
Editorials 656
Their Hunk of America . . Ralph G. Martin 658
It Looks Different from Abroad . George Orwell 659
Letter from Denmark . . . . Sidney Sulkin 660
Radio: What's Your Hooper? . . . Ted Cott 661
Twisted Terry . . . . . Manny Farber 661
Return to Comedy . . . . . Stark Young 662
The Bandwagon 662
Correspondence 662
Books in Review
What Became of the Literary Radicals? . . . . . Robert E. Spiller 664
Light on China . . . Lawrence K. Rosinger 666
Frances Perkins' FDR . . . . . T. W. 667
A Reader's List 670
New Republic News 670

the lowest group be treated by privately operated clinics and in hospitals at the expense of *local* and *state* governments, not realizing apparently that this group makes up the largest proportion of the population in just those states and municipalities which can least afford to pay for its care. Why he finds federal aid for health distasteful, he does not say. He is willing, too, that operations on this group be done by residents and internes simply on the basis of ability to pay and without any relation to surgical need. Care for the middle group will be provided by a *voluntary* health-insurance scheme financed by the users. The top group—those families with incomes of more than $3,000 a year—will furnish their own care, as at present, save that they will no longer be admitted to hospital wards but must utilize private or semi-private facilities.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the author, like organized medicine, is really reluctant to accept the need for a change in the method of distributing medical care, and that he is driven to his proposal only by the clamor of the people for some of the benefits of the science about which he writes with such enthusiasm. Given this, his advocacy of precisely that system which is least likely to work becomes a matter of interest for students of the unconscious. The numerous technical errors in the book suggest that it was written in haste and edited with too large a dose of faith.

MILTON MAZER

A Reader's List

Not So Wild a Dream, by Eric Sevareid (Knopf, $3.50). The personal history of one of the younger generation of our foreign correspondents, well written, sensitive and informative. Primarily an account of the author's war experiences, with chapters on the "phony war," the defeat of France, the London blitz and the Chinese, Indian and Italian campaigns, the book is also the chronicle of a Midwestern country boy's maturing into a cosmopolitan liberal. But his love of people, real people, consistently prevents Sevareid from indulging in pious prejudice or dogmatic judgment.

New Republic News

We've just been going through some of the out-of-town newspaper clippings about Henry Wallace's appointment as editor of the *NR*, and at the same time doing a bit of semantic musing on the shades of meaning which different editors can get into the headlines of identical wire-service stories.

"LIBERAL MAGAZINE FOR MASSES IS GOAL OF WALLACE—PLANS TO MAKE *New Republic* READABLE FOR COMMON MAN AND INTELLECTUAL ALIKE," reports the Roanoke, Virginia, *World News* soberly enough. "*New Republic* NO VOICE OF PEOPLE," runs the headline in the Salina, Kansas, *Journal*, to the same story.

"WALLACE TO BE 'MUST' READING FOR LIBERALS," observes the Austin, Minnesota, *Record*. "VIEWS COINCIDE—WALLACE BECOMES EDITOR OF PINK WEEKLY," notes the Beckley, West Virginia, *Raleigh-Register* with a sneer.

The Portland, Maine, *Sunday Telegram* is content to note: "WILL HAVE CHANCE TO WRITE WHAT HE PLEASES." But out Jefferson City, Missouri, way, readers of the *Capital News* got it as: "WALLACE'S MAGAZINE TO PREACH LIBERAL GOSPEL." The Manchester, Connecticut, *Herald* notified its public that "FAR REACHING PROGRAM AIM OF EDITOR WALLACE," while the Joplin, Missouri, *News-Herald* sufficed with: "WALLACE WILL MAKE REPUBLIC MORE READABLE."

We hope that next week we shall be able to give a digest of editorial comments on Wallace's appointment.

• • •

Sidney Sulkin is North European director of the United States International Book Association. During the war he served with the SHAEF mission to the Netherlands and with the OWI. He is now traveling in Scandinavia and Central Europe.

Robert E. Spiller is professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania and an editor of the *Literary History of the United States* (in preparation).

Lawrence K. Rosinger, the Far Eastern Research Associate of the Foreign Policy Association, has recently returned from China.

Milton Mazer is a physician who has published articles in medical journals and short stories in the *New Yorker*, *Esquire* and *Direction*.

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